Minneapolis, Minnesota

The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXXII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1926 No. 3174

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 489
EDITORIALS:
How to Make Americans Vote 492
Wanted: An American Program for Disarmament 493
Ellen Key 493
The Poet's Way 494
THE UNIVERSE, INC. By Hendrik van Loon 495
THE GUNBOAT POLICY SHEDS BLOOD IN CHINA. By Lewis S. Gannett 496
SECRECY IN THE SENATE. By George W. Norris 498
SHADOWS FOR FLORIDA. By Carl Rakosi 499
A STRIKE AND AN AMERICAN. By Oswald Garrison Villard 500
SUCCESS "DOPE." By Stuart Chase 501
RESTORATION. By David Morton 502
PROHIBITION ON TRIAL—II. THE DRYS ANSWER. By H. C. Engelbrecht 503
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 504
CORRESPONDENCE 505
BOOKS, MUSIC, PLAYS:
The Acolyte. By James Rorty 506
First Glance. By Mark Van Doren 506
Mussolini Minus. By Martyn Hemphill 506
On the Contemporary Novel. By Joseph Wood Krutch 507
Philosophic Realism. By Ernest Sutherland Bates 508
Influencing Human Behavior. By Albert J. Levine 508
Books in Brief 509
Music: "The Immortal Hour." By Henrietta Straus 509
Drama: Raquel Meller. By Joseph Wood Krutch 510
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
An American Missionary Protest 512
The Student Meeting 512
Matteotti's Widow Speaks 513

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, Editor

Associate Editors

LEWIS S. GANNETT

ARTHUR WARNER JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Managing Editor FREDA KIRCHWEY

Literary Editor MARK VAN DOREN

Contributing Editors

JOHN A. HOBSON LUDWIG LEWISOHN H. L. MENCKEN

NORMAN THOMAS CARL VAN DOREN

DAVID BOEHM, Advertising Manager

Subscription Rates: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: Nation, New York. Chicago Office: 38 So. Dearborn Street. British Agent of Subscriptions and Advertising: E. Thurtle, M.P., 36, Temple Fortune Hill, N.W. 11, England.

IT RECALLS THE MARNE to read the recent history of the strike—or more properly the lockout—of engineers and firemen on the Western Maryland Railroad. The management refused to pay the scale which every Class 1 railroad in the United States is paying, submitting to the men instead a yellow-dog contract which they had to sign or suffer dismissal. Fifty refused to sign and were discharged; the remainder, on October 15, 1925, walked out. The company proceeded to man the road with the offscourings of the railroad world, including many men who had been discharged from the Western Maryland itself for incompetency. It recalled its pensioned employees, and those who refused to respond were stricken from the pension roll. With as fine a staff of incompetents, ancients, and thugs as was ever gathered together, the company proceeded to act in the public weal as a common carrier. One man, discharged earlier from a Virginia railroad as an incompetent engineer, demolished sixty-three cars, an engine, and a mile of track on Savage Mountain, then killed a brakeman, then killed a trainmaster, then threw an iron bolt at a striker. He is still in service on the Western Maryland. Since October 15 there have been eighty-four wrecks and derailments on the line. Doubtless the company has its side of the case, but can anything be said in extenuation of a condition where the defense of an abnormally low wage scale brings disaster and death upon the public at large?

NEW NEGOTIATIONS for funding France's debt to the United States were in progress as this issue of *The Nation* went to press, with an indication of a settlement on terms less favorable to the United States than those which were refused from Caillaux last autumn and yet less favorable to France than those obtained by Italy in the agreement which has finally been ratified by the Senate. As we have frequently pointed out, the only condition that matters in these agreements is the sum promised for the first five years. Italy is to pay $5,000,000 annually for that period on a debt of about $2,000,000,000. On a debt of twice that sum, France should be asked for $10,000,000 if equal treatment were granted. Yet the Administration refused an offer of $40,000,000 last autumn and will probably hold out for pretty nearly that sum until France is squeezed into submission. It appears, though, that we are to come to an agreement with the condition that France may ask for revision at the expiration of five years if her financial situation at that time demands it. This is an indirect acceptance on our part of the principle upon which France has continually insisted that she is willing to make payments to us only to the extent to which they are received as reparations from Germany. To *The Nation* this whole debt intrigue—it deserves no more kindly description—is a chapter which a quarter of a century hence Americans will regard as indefensibly sordid from the standpoint of international good-will and incredibly stupid from that of our business interests. France would gain in self-respect and in international prestige if she refused to take any further action toward a debt settlement in the present circumstances. Unfortunately France needs gold desperately if she is to stabilize her currency, and she can get it only by submitting to the hold-up jointly staged by Wall Street and Washington.

SECRETARY KELLOGG'S ADDRESS to the members of the Associated Press at their annual meeting in New York on April 20 was notable for the positive declaration that the Administration will do everything possible to bring about further limitation of armaments by checking the building of cruisers and of other types of ships—especially the submarine, let us hope. That is excellent. But the reverse is true of the Secretary's later announcement that the United States, having reduced its army to 118,000 men, has reached its minimum. If that is the case, what standing will it have in any land-disarmament conference? Whether intentionally or unintentionally, this was a highly disingenuous statement. We are far more of a military nation than ever before; the 118,000 regulars represent only a part of our aggressive military preparations which have led to recent denunciations of us in China, Russia, England, and Germany as one of the most menacing military Powers if not the most dangerous. As for our relations with Latin America the Secretary made use of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

presence of many South American journalists to use honeyed words. He declared: "There is no desire for imperialism, acquisition of territory, political or economic domination." All of which sounds well. But Mr. Kellogg's auditors were no fools; they still recall that Mr. Wilson used almost precisely the same phrases in his Mobile speech only to assault the independence of Haiti and Santo Domingo soon after. All South America knows that Haiti is still controlled and governed by American bayonets and deeply resents the fact. Mr. Kellogg ought to realize that nowhere more than in Latin America do actions speak louder than words.

WE CANNOT SEE why anyone should become particularly excited over the latest Russian-German treaty. If the "Locarno spirit" is still abroad in Europe, everyone ought to welcome the assurance that the contracting parties agree to "mutual neutrality, both economic and military, in the event of a declaration of war against either emanating from a third party actuated by motives of unprovoked aggression"—we quote from dispatches. To our minds this is simply a blow at the former system of alliances which broke down Europe; but it will be noticed that it leaves either country free to war against the other if it believes the attacker is *not* guilty of unprovoked aggression. How easy it is for statesmen to convince themselves that anything constitutes attack or defense, according to their desires, we have all learned since 1914. The new treaty provides that all disputes between the signers arising out of this document, or out of the Locarno accords, or out of Germany's entrance into the League (if it takes place) are to be arbitrated by a non-partisan court. Furthermore, the friendly commercial relations arising out of the Treaty of Rapallo are to be strengthened and, perhaps most important of all, Germany binds herself not to participate in any action against Russia by the League of Nations, whether military or economic, provided—note the grave limitation—that the German representative in the League decides that no proper ground exists for action against Russia. Some European statesmen are, of course, sure that this agreement is further evidence of German "duplicity." Why they should object to Germany's extension of the spirit of Locarno into her relations with Russia is beyond us.

WHILE THE KLAN is falling into ill-health through internal disorders, a new organization is taking hold of the South and providing an outlet for the energies of E. Y. Clarke. The Supreme Kingdom has been formed to fight a three-headed dragon which menaces with atheism, "Redism," evolution—and the deadliest of these is evolution. If its official announcements are to be trusted, the organization is admirably liberal as compared with its predecessor the Klan. To become a member one need pay no fee, but must only assert his solid and unswerving fundamentalist faith. Thus far the Kingdom has been supported by anonymous contributions. Catholics and Jews may join if they wish, and will have the help of the Kingdom in fighting the evils in their own fields. Finally, the Kingdom will fight evolution not with legislation but with education. It will be non-political, except "to the extent of seeing to it that only God-fearing men and women who believe in God, and the Bible as His inspired word to mankind, will be allowed to hold public office of any kind in the United States." Thus Mr. Clarke. He is to be congratulated on finding at last the perfect field for his talents as an organizer and publicity man. He will establish castles in all the important cities of the land. He will have a radio station which will broadcast his voice from a mountain-top in Georgia to every American community. His educational program aims at the banishment of all textbooks and teachers that inject evolution into the young, and it has already begun with a questionnaire which has been sent to teachers, ministers, and office-holders, inquiring their position on evolution, atheism, and anarchism. Having diagnosed his countrymen as "a people loving thrills," he intends, by an active lecture and publicity campaign, to restore "the thing which has given and still can give the biggest thrill of all to any human being, namely, a good dose of the old-time religion of our forefathers."

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION of College Professors has taken a hand in the discussion of college football and, in a long and able report giving every evidence of its desire to be just by recognizing the advantages of the game, a committee of its members declares that the over-emphasis placed upon football creates hysteria which "culminates in the madness of the yelling, not in the game itself." It finds that such "over-excitement is in itself a bad thing for intellectual balance and morale"; that "it leads inevitably, also, to neglect of college work"; that the last month of the football season suffers "a very appreciable loss in value" for the undergraduates; that "the enormous financial outlay . . . creates in the undergraduate mind a false sense of its importance"; that "the sheer physical size of the stadium dwarfs the significance of the library, laboratory, and lecture hall"; and that "the student standard of values loses touch with the fundamental purposes of education." All of this is excellent and truthful. But what are the remedies? The committee offers two: First, the proposal of Dr. Edgar Fauver of Wesleyan University, who would limit to one year the participation of athletes in intercollegiate athletics; and, second, the plan proposed by the Wesleyan meeting. This was participated in by representatives of nine colleges and urges that graduate coaches be paid the same salaries as professors and that no one team play more than four intercollegiate games yearly. How to get the college alumni interested in proposals even so modest as these is now the problem—they who have put huge sums into concrete and brick and steel stadiums. But somehow it must be done. Football must be reduced to the level of its natural importance or abolished.

A GRAND JURY in New York City has been taking testimony regarding Mayor Hylan's Department of Health. It has been charged that the department reeked with graft, particularly in respect to its supervision of the city milk supply. Three subpoenaed witnesses made a startling confession in the newspapers in advance of the legal hearing. These three, Messrs. Cohen, Blass, and Tiger, with one other, were known among milk dealers as "Danziger's four horsemen." They were the shock troops of the ring which Danziger, one of the "higher ups" in the department, had organized. They allege that Danziger sold a Polish dairyman in Queens a permit to sell Grade A milk for $1,500 (presumably with no regard to maintaining Grade A standards); that he sold poultry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slaughter-house permits for $4,000; that when an honest department inspector was trying to maintain milk standards in Brooklyn Danziger collected $50 apiece from sixty-eight dealers as a reward for his good offices in transferring the inspector to the Bronx. Danziger proceeded to play the same game with Bronx milk dealers. This good business man also got up a testimonial dinner to himself and assessed milk dealers $80 for a seat, with the threat of driving missing dealers out of business if the tables were not filled. For good measure he sold many more seats than the banquet hall contained. His gross income from all sources is estimated by the worthy horsemen at between $1,000,000 and $2,000,000.

THE HISTORIC STRUGGLE of Catalonia for autonomy from Spain is becoming a sharper thorn in the side of the Spanish Government. It is of special importance to Spain to retain this northeastern region, which is the most productive portion of the peninsula and normally pays nearly 80 per cent of the nation's taxes. The Catalans, on the other hand, with a language and culture of their own, resent the burden placed upon their shoulders. Since the opening of the century they have been permitted to carry on an active development of their individual culture, the program of which rested in the hands of the Mancomunidad or local parliament, composed of the four provincial councils of the Captaincy General of Catalonia. From a purely cultural body the Mancomunidad has developed into a political organization which began in 1918 to send delegates to Madrid demanding political and economic autonomy. Before the establishment of the dictatorship, Primo de Rivera was Captain General of Catalonia and a lively supporter of the Catalan dream of autonomy. Now, however, he is dictator, and political exigencies have demanded a complete about-face. To permit the richest region of the country to slip out of his hands into independence would be inconceivable. He has therefore set about Hispanicizing Catalonia, beginning with an attack on the Mancomunidad, which has been replaced by an assembly of chosen Spaniards. The sturdy Catalans have responded with a policy of passive resistance, refusing to accept office in the Government at Madrid. Threats of confiscation of goods and loss of citizenship have so far failed to dislodge them from their position. Now nine lawyers composing the directorate of the Bar Association of Barcelona have been exiled to isolated towns of Spain for defying the law and using the Catalonian language.

THERE ARE EVIDENTLY depths of sensibility in policemen which are unsuspected by those who have judged them only by their language when rebuking a lady who has made a forbidden turn in the traffic or when giving the "bum's rush" to a peaceful citizen who shows a disposition to linger on a street corner. As critics of the drama, especially, they display a remarkable sensitivity when called upon to testify against plays which have offended their moral feelings. This fact has been observed in New York, but it has remained for California to develop a police officer whose modesty would do credit to a convent-bred virgin. This paragon, Taylor by name, testified in the Los Angeles proceedings against "Desire Under the Elms" that he blushed with painful embarrassment and feared for the time when the lights should be turned on again—all because of a nightgown worn by the stepmother in the play. When it was pointed out to him that this garment was of the old-fashioned variety which reaches to the feet, he merely replied with admirable insistence upon a principle: "Just the same, it's a nightgown," and unlike most crusaders in the interests of stage morality he admitted that the play had "a tendency to deprave and corrupt" his own individual morals. Really it is a great pity that so delicate a nature should be exposed to those sordid scenes which a policeman is so often called upon to witness in the course of his professional duties.

He believes Great Britain will not come out of the war any the worse. Life will be lengthened because of better habits and the training of youth. The productive power will be strengthened because the drones have all been put to work and will probably continue there. He estimated this would add more than a billion dollars to England's wealth, and that untold millions will be saved because of the simple lives people will lead from now.

WHO WAS IT who made this marvelous forecast of how England would profit by the World War? Why no less a person than that distinguished statesman and savior of civilization, David Lloyd George, on January 14, 1916, to Colonel Edward M. House. Nothing could reveal more adequately the caliber of this man's mind, or explain why it is, now that he is no longer surrounded by the glamor and power of war, that he has sunk to an insignificant position in political life. "The productive power will be strengthened." Yes, it has been by the unemployment of upward of 2,000,000 Englishmen ever since the end of the war; by the demoralization of industry, as in the coal mines; by the underselling of British goods by countries having depreciated currencies; by huge taxation; by the tremendous war debt and the payment to the United States of $500,000 daily. Only in one thing was this prophet correct, that the people of England lead simpler lives than they did before the war. They do—2,000,000 of them because they are subsisting on doles paid them by their fellow-citizens who have employment; many of the rest because of losses incident to the war and the tremendous taxation.

JOSEPH PENNELL, dead at 66, was one of the most picturesque of those few American artists and critics of art who, attaining success in the nineteenth century, did vital work in the twentieth also. For many years a contributor of illustrations to the *Century Magazine* and of critical articles to *The Nation,* Mr. Pennell became quite as famous for the sharpness of his tongue as for the deftness of his etcher's hand. He was an unsparing foe of everything in American thought and art which he found complacent or second-rate; and if he borrowed his best critical weapons from Whistler, whose life he wrote and whose name he always defended, it was not necessarily in the interests of a foreign tradition that he wielded these weapons. He was among the first to see beauty in skyscrapers, derricks, and factory interiors; lower Broadway, the Panama Canal, and war-time munition works came under his hand as readily as did the cathedrals of France and Italy. The newest school of illustrators looks at cities with different eyes from his; but in his time he was a pioneer, and as such he had the courage of his aesthetic convictions. He loved to argue and to teach. His frankness with students was matched only by his genuine desire to help them.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How to Make Americans Vote

THE President has joined those who bewail the failure of Americans to go to the polls. To the Daughters of the American Revolution he pointed out that fewer than 50 per cent of the qualified voters voted in the last two presidential elections; that in the senatorial elections of 1922 "not a single successful candidate secured anything like a majority of the total possible vote." In some States "the candidates received as low as 7.9 and 10 per cent of the total vote." This is the more striking in view of the fact that attendance at the polls at the five presidential elections between 1880 and 1896 averaged 80 per cent of the qualified voters. Mr. Coolidge also pointed out that in Germany in 1924, 82 per cent of the qualified voted and that this figure was also reached in the British parliamentary election of 1922. Recalling the fact that a number of influential organizations did their best to get out the vote in 1924, and failed to do anything more, perhaps, than to check the decrease in voters, Mr. Coolidge none the less urges further volunteer work of this kind, wisely discarding all the proposed punishments for non-voting which range from disfranchisement to criminal action. Believing that self-government is at stake, the President feels that if we can only make the public sense the dangers which elections by a minority create the public will rise to the situation.

Elihu Root, too, has spoken out upon this subject to representatives of the National Civic Federation, which is already at work in preparation for the election next fall and that in 1928. After speaking of the present condition in Italy, Spain, and France Mr. Root continued thus:

> Now in this country things have not become so bad as that, but there are many indications that something is going wrong with our machinery. It is not right that less than half the people of the United States should care enough about their government to go to the polls and cast the ballot. . . . Here are a great lot of people with a mild approval of free government, but who never think of doing anything about it until after something has happened and then they criticize the government. The important thing is to turn this half of the people which doesn't vote from critics into doers; show them how they can bear the responsibility, perform the duty of taking a part in the government of their country.

Now all this is a correct statement of what is going on in the way of the breakdown of political interest on the part of the average American. But neither exhortations of this kind nor volunteer organizations will, we believe, remedy the situation. Mr. Coolidge himself quotes a correspondent who asked whether "the result of the great and more or less spectacular campaign by voluntary organizations to 'Get out the Vote'" was a "tragedy" or a "farce." Voters cannot be driven to the polls nor shamed into going there in appreciable numbers. The remedy lies elsewhere—in the restoration to the voter of faith in the two political parties and in our politics and government. It is emphatically not merely a case of laziness. The 50 per cent who abstain do not all do so because they will not make the effort. Multitudes of them deliberately refuse to vote because they feel they have nothing to gain by doing so; that the choice lies between representatives of two parties which are both hopelessly corrupt and outworn, between whom there is no essential difference in principle or program. They feel that this is a rich man's country; that the workers have no show anyway; that it makes no difference whether Republicans or Democrats control in Washington; that our institutions, excellent once, are no longer adapted to a nation of 115,000,000 of people under the conditions of extreme capitalism. Those who think this way cannot be flogged or enthused into voting until they see some reforms to be gained thereby. Particularly is this true in the South, where millions of colored persons abstain because disfranchised and millions of whites because of local conditions which generations ago wiped out all party opposition.

Again, it is a curious fact that these very leaders of the old school who berate the absentee voters never question our institutions and our political methods. They are never weary of ringing the changes upon the perfection of our form of government, the beauty of our economic system, and the hallowed blessedness of life under the American flag. A letter from one of these believers in the absolute perfection of American government lies before us. He writes of "our prosperity, the opportunity for education, for individual effort, and the widespread existence of happiness in America"; he "marvels" at those who suggest change, believing that they "recklessly attempt to destroy the good we have under our present order without the ability to insure the benefit of change through disturbance." Admitting the low average vote and "the neglect of personal responsibility in government," he thinks that all that is needed is to "give the present institutions fair play by making more people work for the U. S. A. than to try new methods." Connect the lack of voting with dissatisfaction with our present institutions he cannot. His only remedy is to *compel* people to work for the government, believing, so he says, that thus one creates "reverence for the state," forgetting that nobody ever by force made anybody love or reverence anyone or anything. Such as he cannot see that their brand of political economy has destroyed the faith of half the American people in their government. They shut their eyes to the fact that no government can remain politically static and survive.

To Mr. Coolidge, Mr. Root, and our correspondent we make the same answer: Direct the efforts of all who bewail the abstention in voting to so making over our government that it shall win anew the love of all the American people and not merely of those who grow rich and happy under the present system. Let them recall how much of the vast wealth of America is concentrated in the hands of a few of the people; that nothing has occurred to vitiate the truth of Woodrow Wilson's charge that the control of our government by big business calls for revolution. Let them realize that while they themselves cling to the anachronisms of our Constitution they are wholly indifferent to the great guaranties of human liberties enumerated in the Bill of Rights. They hold to the letter of the Constitution; they have perverted its spirit. They have permitted a situation to arise in which the will of the people can never make itself clearly felt on a single issue. Why should they wonder, since the government has become a thing apart from the life of the people, that those chiefly go to the polls who expect directly to profit from politics and privilege?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wanted: An American Program for Disarmament

THE approaching meeting of the Preparatory Commission of the International Conference on Disarmament, to which President Coolidge, with the approval of Congress, is sending an American delegation, offers a new opportunity to America and to American friends of international peace. It will be recalled that at the time of the Washington Disarmament Conference, in 1921, the impressive demonstration of many different groups of American citizens impelled Secretary of State Hughes to make far more progressive proposals to the meeting than he otherwise would have made; they were largely responsible for whatever measure of success that gathering on naval armaments achieved.

It is frequently said by spokesmen purporting to reflect the mind of the Administration that the United States is not interested in the question of land armaments and has nothing to contribute to the subject of their reduction. Both statements are palpably untrue. The American people are vitally interested in land disarmament, because the existence of large conscript armies in the world is a serious contributing cause of fear, and fear destroys that confidenee without which international disarmament and peace are difficult to obtain. It is sufficient to recall two recent American initiatives to be convinced that there are significant American ideas and practical proposals to be made to any disarmament conference that really wants to disarm. The first of these is the germ idea of the resolution twice introduced in the Senate by Senater Shipstead of Minnesota, calling upon the President to negotiate treaties with every military Power, under the terms of which compulsory military training and service would be reciprocally prohibited and abolished within the territorial jurisdiction of each state. This is the same idea which is being agitated by the youth movements of Great Britain and Switzerland, the latter looking to the League of Nations to initiate such an international treaty for the suppression of conscription as it has already initiated for the suppression of slavery and the slave trade in the mandated territories and in Angola.

Another American idea is one in which the Carnegie Foundation is interested; it is a proposed revision of international law, specifically a codification of Pan-American international law, according to which several new definitions and doctrines of right and of non-violent coercion are advanced. Perhaps the most important of these is that which declares henceforth to be illegal the acquisition of all territory by the exercise of force and violence, this proposed reform to be established by the voluntary acceptance and proclamation of all the American republics. The suggested codification would also narrowly limit the permissible use of the blockade and other forms of "sanctions" and subject the whole process of coercion of a delinquent or an offending state to American international control through development of conciliatory, judicial, and arbitral processes in the Pan-American Union.

A third American idea of great significance—the economic embargo, originally applied by Thomas Jefferson—is one which, when fully developed to meet modern conditions and applied internationally, may prove to be the master-key to the puzzling problem of sanctions in a world in which public opinion is more or less free and active and, when sane, is the only guaranty of security. Considered from the point of view of the rights and duties of neutrals, America has a right and a duty to propose and proclaim what might be called a policy of the Closed Door—a voluntary recognition of the duty of a neutral nation to close its markets against sale of munitions and contraband of war to an aggressor state, the fact of aggression or offense or violation of obligation to be determined by a respected and impartial international judicial body, possibly the World Court, but not by any political sanhedrim such as the Council of the League. When aggression is defined as refusal to submit an international controversy to arbitration or to international inquiry and conciliation, such a revision of the doctrine of neutral rights and duties would place the moral and economic power of the neutral world on the side of defense, arbitration, and inquiry, instead of on the side of aggression, naval power, and violence, where it now is.

The doctrine of neutrality is an American doctrine. It began when George Washington and his Cabinet, disregarding the pledges of military assistance contained in our treaty with France of 1778, proclaimed a new policy in 1793, suited to the exigencies of the young nation and of inestimable worth to the subsequent history of all nations. It lies in the power of the United States to bring this doctrine up to date, to revise and apply it in a way that will make impossible a repetition of the dangerous conflict that arose between the United States and Great Britain in 1916, concerning neutral rights upon the seas.

Ellen Key

ELLEN KEY has been called the "wise fool" of the women's movement. Her wisdom lay in her bold vision of a world made safe for the free expression of women's impulses toward love and motherhood. Her folly lay in a futile and stubborn resistance to all the other tides of feminist thought and development.

Essentially Ellen Key was as conservative in her view of women's functions as Theodore Roosevelt—or H. L. Mencken. But because she accepted without reserve the changes that were necessary to set woman free for her biologic role, it was her ironic fate to be viciously attacked. Essentially, too, Ellen Key was severely moral; more moral, it is safe to assume, than the bitterest of her critics. The "new ethics" to which she subscribed and which she preached demand a conscious nobility of purpose that makes mere conventional acceptances appear by comparison flabby and mean. But because her morality was at variance with the current pattern, she was denounced even in her own country—which eventually acclaimed and rewarded her—as a seducer and corrupter of youth.

Women, according to Ellen Key, are intended primarily for motherhood. More than this, they have the right to motherhood and to conditions of life which tend to make it free and efficient and happy. In spite of current tendencies toward industrial and professional work, a majority of women, under the best social circumstances, "would probably find that they had work enough in the capacity of wives, mothers, and housekeepers." Most of them "would doubtless regard the realization of married

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

life and the bringing-up of their children as their great social work, their science and their art."

What, one may ask, is the revolutionary implication of such a doctrine, stated in terms that could be understood by a Southern Senator in pre-suffrage days? Ellen Key was dangerous because she had the courage of her logic. She realized that if you attempt to restrict women to the pursuit of motherhood, you cannot restrict motherhood to a limited number of women. She believed that any woman fitted for maternity should be free to choose it and that no woman who was unfit should be allowed to become a mother. "Irresponsible motherhood," she said in "Love and Ethics," "is *always* sin with or without marriage; responsible motherhood is always sacred with or without marriage." The question of illegitimacy should not be permitted to touch childhood; all children should be legitimate and equal. Love should be free, but monogamy, based on principles of mutual interest and responsibility, would tend to be the common, as it is now merely the conventional, ideal. "Love and parental responsibility," she held, should be made "the sole conditions of sex relations." Her influence undoubtedly played an important part in shaping the family laws which, in enlightenment, put the Scandinavian countries ahead of all other nations except the Soviet Union.

Ellen Key believed in peace, and in women—the "mothers" of society—as the agents of peace. She believed in legislation securing the support of women for three years after childbirth. She came to believe, after some years of bitter opposition, in woman suffrage, not because women were similar to men but because, being fundamentally different, they would revolutionize and humanize social laws. These attitudes were wholly consistent with her primary belief in woman's essential maternity. She outlined a system of ethics and a program of social change designed to make the home a sphere worthy of women. She tried to make it important, respected, economically secure. She showed with little difficulty that the ordinary modern home was either a miserable sweatshop or a disorganized plant with no system or standards of workmanship. And as the result of these efforts she aroused, among the merely conventional defenders of women's historic function, unmeasured horror and hate.

By her fellow-feminists Ellen Key was regarded with mixed feelings of respect and resentment. In her later years, when she tardily espoused suffrage, she became closely allied with the woman's movement throughout Germany and Scandinavia, where feminism largely concerned itself with the problems of motherhood and sex freedom. But she set herself stubbornly athwart the swift current of industrial change which under her eyes was turning woman from a domestic to a factory worker, from a housekeeper to a bookkeeper or stenographer. And in consequence she found herself opposed by the growing numbers of women who found that the world itself had come to be their home and who, to use Ellen Key's own words, "wanted to navigate all the seas with men."

Her death obliterates a great figure among the women of today; but it will not wipe out the problems she discussed. It is interesting to see how, in every controversy concerning women, the feminism of Ellen Key is confronted with the feminism of the unrelenting machine age, which day by day grinds to dust the differences she so stoutly expounded.

The Poet's Way

ONE of the commonest misconceptions concerning the poet is that he has a special and mysterious way of saying things. The process by which a statement in eight or ten rhythmical words becomes the property of mankind is mysterious enough, of course; but the notion that a special device was resorted to by the person who spoke the words is without demonstrable foundation. Take, for instance, the most frequent of all notions concerning him—that he speaks in figures. Max Eastman, whose book on poetry is highly entertaining, laid too much stress upon the poet as a caller of names. Poetry is more than the art of calling names—that is, the art of calling something by another than its ordinary name. The whole speech of man, in prose or in verse, is metaphorical.

Of the lines or groups of lines which have achieved something like universal fame, so that we resort to them rather than to our own tongues when we wish to express certain emotions or ideas, we suspect that considerably more than half are utterly devoid of images—at least of images perverted to a particular use. Take the following:

> A little learning is a dangerous thing.
>
> The proper study of mankind is man.
>
> God made the country, and man made the town.
>
> Where ignorance is bliss,
> 'Tis folly to be wise.

And if it be objected that these lines are taken from that eighteenth century which is supposed to have been, in Matthew Arnold's phrase, "an age of prose and reason," and hence an age incapable of charming or magically revealing language, we can go backward and forward to Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Byron, Keats, Tennyson, Emerson, Whitman, and Longfellow:

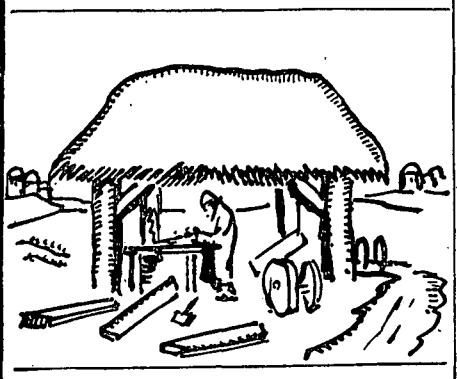
> No where so bisy a man as he ther nas,
> And yet he semed bisier than he was.
>
> Speak of me as I am; nothing extenuate,
> Nor set down aught in malice: then, must you speak
> Of one that lov'd not wisely but too well.
>
> They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
> Through Eden took their solitary way.
>
> A primrose by a river's brim
> A yellow primrose was to him,
> And it was nothing more.
>
> Roll on, thou deep and dark blue ocean—roll!
>
> A thing of beauty is a joy forever.
>
> Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean.
>
> Then beauty is its own excuse for being.
>
> I celebrate myself, and sing myself.
>
> I stood on the bridge at midnight.

If these quotations prove little, they at least prove that poets can reach the ears of the world through mere felicity, mere condensation, mere speaking well. A good line of poetry is always the shortest distance between two points—and it makes no difference whether a metaphor was met on the way or not.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

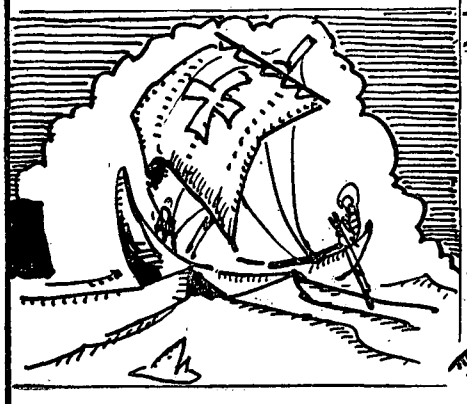
The Universe, Inc. By H. v. L.

LET ME CONFESS that there are many things in this esteemed universe which I fail to understand, but here is one problem which puzzles me more than any other:

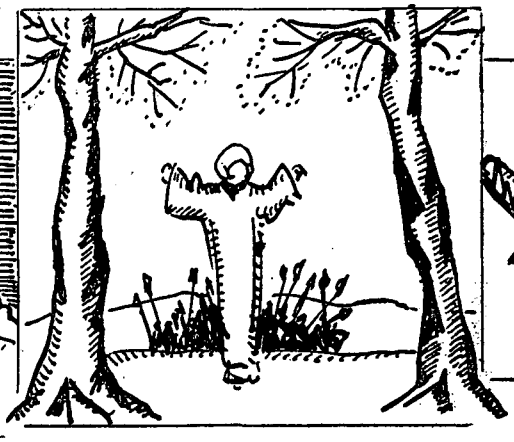


Some two thousand years ago there lived a carpenter in the land of Galilee who saw that the world was slightly out of gear and who tried to solve the many difficulties which beset him and his contemporaries—

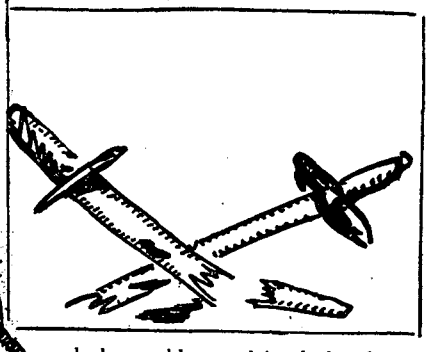
by urging the multitudes to obey certain simple laws of decency and kindliness and humility of spirit and who urged them not to repay evil with evil;—



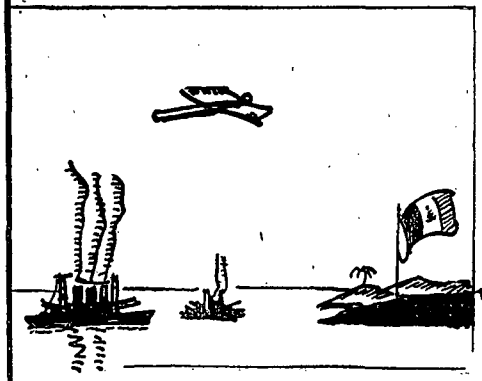
and then during the next twenty centuries those who proclaimed themselves his followers journeyed to the ends of the world—



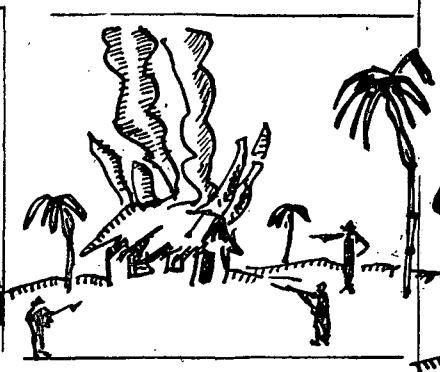
to urge upon all sinners the virtues of *kindliness* and *humility of spirit* and the wickedness of repaying evil by evil—



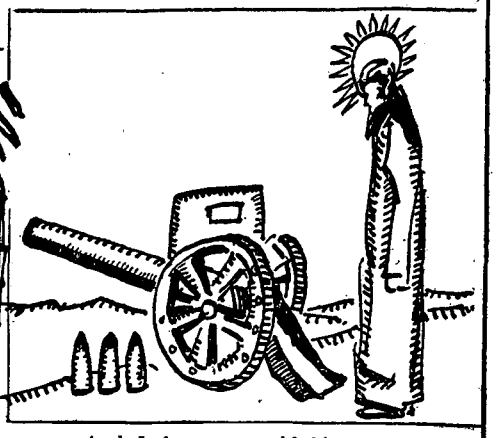
and they nobly proclaimed the doctrine that those who live by the sword shall also perish by the sword and that one must not ask a *tooth for a tooth* but must turn the other cheek;—



but nowadays the moment they meet with a little bit of opposition they loudly holler for warships, and insist—



that their enemies be brought to terms by the largest guns in the world.



And I for one would like to ask "How come?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Gunboat Policy Sheds Blood in China

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

Peking, March 18

WE are safe in the Legation Quarter. Rows of soldiers with fixed bayonets guard all the approaches. We are safe. But forty Chinese students are dead tonight, and sixty more lie wounded in the Peking Union Medical College, shot by Chinese soldiers as an aftermath of a foreign ultimatum. Fate plays strange tricks. While the bodies of the students still lie in blood and dust in the Peking streets, the diplomats whose gunboat policy led to their deaths are dining peacefully and talking calmly about "excited agitators."

Yesterday noon the American Ambassador met the newspapermen. The fatal ultimatum had been issued, but the diplomatic atmosphere radiated confidence. The Powers had been losing prestige in China. This firm stand, following the customs incident at Canton last month, was to change the "psychological atmosphere" so that the Powers could regain their lost "rights." Half an hour later a delegation of missionaries and educators called upon the Minister. They told him that the use, or even the threat, of armed force under the present circumstances would smash the tradition of American friendship for China and increase anti-foreign feeling. I am not at liberty to quote the Minister's reply, but it has leaked out that he did not agree with the missionaries' reading of Chinese psychology. Certain it is that men close to him had come to believe that the Chinese were so sick of their own chaos that they would welcome a firm stand which would help reestablish freedom of communications. Certain it is that they—and he and the other diplomats who signed the ultimatum—were wrong.

This morning crowds gathered in the Peking streets. They carried banners; they passed out handbills; before the red walls and towering yellow roofs of the Tien An Men they made and heard speeches. The students obtained a holiday to protest against the new foreign aggression, and a committee of them sought to see the Chief Executive to voice their protest. They were beaten off with clubs. A larger group stood firm in the face of a discharge of blank cartridges, then fell in ranks before the machine-guns of the Chief Executive's bodyguard. Who is to blame for the murder of those high-spirited boys and girls? Legally, and in foreign eyes, perhaps, no one but themselves. But the Chinese, and I with them, hold the diplomats responsible.

For the diplomats are trying to turn back the hands of history, to restore the domination of the white man over the yellow. And, unless the West is ready to sacrifice its young men by the thousand, they cannot do it. Even if the West were ready to fight to maintain the white empire, it would lose in the end. There are twice as many men in China as in France, England, Italy, and America put together.

Twenty-five years ago, after the Boxer uprising, the Powers, fearful of a repetition of the ghastly siege of Peking, not only imposed the huge Boxer indemnity upon China but forced her, by the same protocol, to agree (1) to raze the forts of Taku (at the mouth of the river which leads to Tientsin), on the ground that they might "impede free communication between Peking and the sea," and (2) to occupy certain ports along the coast between Tientsin and the Great Wall, "for the maintenance of open communication between the capital and the sea." It is upon that agreement that the present dispute arose.

In the post-Boxer days the Powers did pretty much as they pleased in China, being limited chiefly by their fears and jealousies of one another. China was weak; the monarchy fell, and the desperate effort to graft a Western republic on the old Asiatic stock stumbled through one civil war after another. Then, after the Great War, the Allies in their petty spite forced China to deport the Germans and to cancel the unequal treaties in so far as Germany and Austria-Hungary were concerned—an example which China did not forget. Then Turkey rose and threw off the shackles of her unequal treaties by shaking her armed fist at the Westerners—which, too, the Chinese observed. And then came the revolutionary Russians, preaching international working-class solidarity (and all China is a working class), canceling the old Sino-Russian treaties with a dramatic gesture, and preaching eloquent sermons on the refusal of the Allies to do likewise. The prestige of the great Western peoples suffered. Although the refusal of the Chinese Government, after the Lincheng outrage of 1922, to accept the Powers' demand that it organize a railway police under foreign officers, and the closing of the Tientsin Railway for a few days in 1920 (in violation of the Boxer protocol) were indicative of the change, its full force was not felt until after the wild summer of 1925.

Last summer the British police in Shanghai killed eleven Chinese students and workers; British and French killed fifty-two Chinese parading in Canton in protest against the Shanghai shooting; and more Chinese were killed in Hankow. And the students of China arose and howled, and set their dormant nation howling. Foreign goods were boycotted for months over all south and central China. Even today, after nearly nine months, Canton is still refusing to land British goods and is successfully ruining Hongkong, once the greatest port in the East. All over China the foreign diplomats and consuls learned to tread softly and to avoid trouble. The Chinese people began to recover its lost dignity.

No white man dares kick a coolie in Shanghai today any more than he would dare kick a taxidriver in New York or Kansas City; extraterritoriality, over which the diplomats ponder in Peking, has ceased to have meaning in most of China; the military leaders levy taxes despite the rain of protests and citations of treaty rights by the foreign diplomats; the Canton strikers who boycott foreign goods take no interest in treaty clauses guaranteeing open trade for foreign Powers; foreign ships on the upper Yangtze River, where British and American gunboats have been exercising, uninvited, *de facto* police power, find themselves compelled, like Chinese boats, to accept military guests as non-paying travelers; and the good old "open communication between the capital and the sea," noted in the Boxer Protocol of 1901, has been upset whenever the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

requirements of civil war suggested it to a Chinese general's mind. The Powers, appalled by the outbursts of last summer, have watched their "rights" go sailing by without daring to do more than pen dull documents of protest. In December the Peking-Tientsin Railway was closed for nearly three weeks despite the foreign fuss and fret; for several weeks now the Tientsin-Shanhaikwan Railway, which is guarded by foreign troops on the theory that it is a necessary part of the "communication between the capital and the sea," has been cut by the blowing up of a bridge; and on March 9 the local authorities notified the Powers that the channel by which ships enter Tientsin had been mined.

Comic aspects intrude themselves upon a serious story. The foreign ships, warned of the mines, stayed out. But the Chinese have picked up and put down the mines with such extraordinary freedom whenever they wished to permit one ship to enter or to bar another that there is grave doubt whether they ever really laid any mines at all. It is not at all impossible that the whole fuss and fury has been due to a Chinese joke, and that the mining has been purely imaginary.

At any rate, the Powers awoke to a new activity. On March 10 they composed a joint note to

> protest most urgently against this state of affairs, and demand that the Government of China bring about the immediate cessation by both of the mutually hostile forces of China of these acts of obstruction to open communication to the sea through the Taku channel, reserving to themselves to collaborate for the protection of foreign shipping and for the maintenance of free access to the port of Tientsin, should the Chinese Government fail to take forthwith action to that end in fulfilment of the purpose of the Protocol of 1901.

Now, the Protocol of 1901 was intended to assure the safety of the lives of foreigners in Peking. No foreigners have this year—as yet (there is no telling what may follow the latest killings of Chinese)—been in danger in Peking. The sudden ultimatum of the Powers was not in pursuance of that purpose, but simply to aid foreign commerce, obstructed by Chinese civil war—as Grover Clark, editor of the Peking *Leader*, pointed out in a rarely sane and brave editorial printed when the ultimatum was made public. The situation at Taku was this: Six warships belonging to the Mukden faction hostile to the group in control of Peking and Tientsin were hovering off the bar. Twice they had shelled Taku; once at least they had attempted to land troops. Not unnaturally the forces on shore armed the forts for defense and even announced the mining of the channel. Whatever the letter of the treaty, the foreigners had no moral right to demand that the channel be kept open for their ships unless they were ready to agree to keep the hostile warships from following their merchant ships into port.

On February 12, two days after that note, two Japanese destroyers, the Fuji and the Suzuki, started to move up the river past the Tuku forts toward Tientsin. The Chinese authorities had given permission, but there was a misunderstanding. One of the forts opened fire—the Chinese say with a blank shot of warning, the Japanese say with machine-gun fire. The Japanese replied. Three Japanese were wounded; four Chinese were killed and eight wounded. The Japanese asked for apologies; so did the Chinese. Meanwhile foreign merchant ships were permitted to enter the river, but forced to submit to a rigid inspection. Then, on the 16th, the storm broke. The Protocol Powers sent a "gunboat note" to the Chinese Government, an old-fashioned ultimatum with a forty-four-hour time limit. The Powers "demanded" that

> 1. All hostilities in the channel from Taku Bar to Tientsin must be discontinued;
>
> 2. All mines or other obstructions must be removed;
>
> 3. All navigation signals must be restored and no further molested;
>
> 4. All combatant vessels must remain outside Taku Bar and refrain from interference with foreign shipping; and
>
> 5. All searches of foreign vessels except by the customs authorities must be discontinued.
>
> If satisfactory assurances on these points have not been received by noon on Thursday, March 18, the naval authorities of the foreign Powers will proceed to take such measures as they may find necessary for the purpose of removing or suppressing any obstruction to the free and safe navigation of the channel between Tientsin and the sea.

In all this the chief interest was of course Japanese; but it was understood in Peking that the moving spirit was the American Government. That this was not mere Japanese propaganda seemed to be evidenced by the appearance, on the morning before the issuance of the ultimatum, of a United Press cable from Washington predicting drastic American action. The eagerness of a certain type of Americans to have our Government act as errand-boy for British and Japanese imperialism, is one of the most curious phenomena of the Orient.

Immediately following the ultimatum, the Mukden forces announced that they had seized a Russian ship carrying ammunition for their opponents, that this was what they had really been angling for, and that they were glad to accede to the request of the Powers and depart. The Kuominchun forces declared that while they could not entirely give up the right of search they would be glad, if the Allies would agree to keep the Mukden forces away, to open the river freely to traffic. The Powers seemed to have won their point. As an event in diplomatic history, the story ends there.

But, as a chapter in the history of the races, it does not end there. The incident with the Japanese destroyers led to student protest meetings. The ultimatum closed the schools in Peking. For the students bear a heavy responsibility in China these days; they consider themselves the awakeners of the people, the molders of a united nation. And the vehemence of some foreign protests against their activities only proved their success. They protested, and marched under a sea of blue and white banners through the streets of Peking to protest to the Chief Executive.

Why to the Chief Executive? Because, in a sense, Tuan Chi-jui has become a symbol of foreign domination. When Feng Yu-hsiang and his People's Army were at the height of their strength in December, about to oust the old man and institute a commission form of government in Peking, the Powers, alarmed, intervened. The plan of a commission form of government sounded like a soviet to their delicate ears. And Feng, still a little afraid of the foreigner, yielded to their threats. Tuan remained, thanks to the Western Powers. So the students, who feared a too submissive reply to the ultimatum, marched to Tuan's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

office, passing out handbills which called for the deportation of the eight ministers who had sounded the offending ultimatum. Tuan's bodyguard received them, first with clubs, then with overhead shots, then with machine-gun fire. And tonight, as I have said, forty of them lie dead in the streets of Peking and sixty more are groaning under the green roofs of the Rockefeller hospital.

Does America want the gunboat policy tried some more? Does America want China to fall into the arms of Russia? It looks that way tonight.

Secrecy in the Senate

By GEORGE W. NORRIS

THERE is no place in our governmental fabric for secret official action by any legislative body. The Senate of the United States has recently lost much of the respect of the country by refusing to let the people know how its members voted upon the confirmation of Mr. Woodlock to become a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Under its rules, the Senate considers all nominations made by the President, in executive or secret session. The rules provide that all votes had in such a session shall be kept secret and no Senator has a right even to tell how he himself voted without violating these rules and laying himself liable to expulsion. The practice of the Senate, for many years, has been by unanimous consent to publish in the *Record* the roll-call vote upon such nominations. In the case of Mr. Woodlock objection was made and the roll-call was not published. This action of the Senate has aroused a feeling of disrespect and sometimes a feeling of condemnation on the part of many of our citizens, and millions of people are inquiring why the Senate has refused to let the country know how its members voted on this important proposition. No one has yet given an answer to this query.

Why is this vote kept secret? Why is it that the practice of many years has found an exception in this one case? Are Senators afraid of their constituents? Are they afraid to let the country know how they voted in this particular case, and if so, is it because they have voted contrary to the wishes of their constituents or contrary to their own convictions, because of pressure from powerful interests or from alleged political leaders? This vote was perhaps as important as any vote taken in the Senate during the present session. The Interstate Commerce Commission has control of the transportation system all over the country. Their powers are perhaps more closely connected with the actual business operations of the country than any other department of government. Their official action has a definite and direct effect upon the cost of living of all our people. The selection of the membership of this commission is, therefore, one of the most important governmental functions in the entire fabric. It is particularly important at this time. The commission is about to pass upon the valuation of all the railroads of the country. Transportation rates for all the future years will be based upon this valuation. It is not only those who live now, but the generations that shall follow, who are directly interested in a very natural way in the official action of this commission. It is not surprising, therefore, that there should be a deep and definite interest all over the country in the commission's personnel.

The qualifications of Mr. Woodlock have been discussed through the public press for more than a year, and his ideas as to valuation and the financing of railroads have very properly become the subject of public debate. It is claimed by those who oppose him that his long affiliation with railroad interests and his Wall Street connections definitely disqualify him from a position on the commission. The writer is not now criticizing the views of Mr. Woodlock and, for the purpose of this article, is making no claim as to which side in this controversy is right. I desire only to point out that a great national question is involved and to call attention to its importance. Indeed, for the sake of the argument, it may be assumed that Mr. Woodlock's ideas are correct and that his qualifications are beyond criticism. The point is that in this important question, upon which the people are sharply divided, the Senate of the United States, called upon in its official capacity to settle the question, has settled it behind closed doors. Can any reason be offered why the votes of Senators on this question should be concealed from public view? Why should the Senate lock itself behind closed doors and pass upon such a matter as this in secret; and, if there is any justification for it, why, for the same reason, should not all votes in the Senate be concealed? There is a deep-seated and righteous conviction in the heart of every liberty-loving citizen against secrecy in government affairs. By its refusal to make the roll-call public the Senate has lost much of the respect and confidence in which it has been heretofore held by the public at large. Have the people of the country not the same right to know how a Senator voted on the Woodlock appointment that they have to know how he voted on the tax bill, on the World Court proposition, or any other important matter of official action? No one will defend the suggestion that the Senate transact all its business in secret. Such a course, however high-minded it might be to begin with, would ultimately lead to corruption and dishonor. Has any government ever survived where its high officials had transacted public business behind closed doors? Such procedure was one of the main factors that brought on in Russia the most desperate revolution that has happened in many centuries.

In considering this particular question we should likewise consider that rule of the Senate which provides that a transcript of all business transacted in executive session shall be certified to the President of the United States. This means that the information denied to the public shall be secretly conveyed to the President. Let us pause to ask why should the President be given information denied to the public? In the case of Woodlock, why should President Coolidge be told how every Senator voted when the country at large cannot lawfully secure any such information? The President has the appointing power. He naturally wants to see his nominees confirmed. He likewise controls the patronage of the entire country. He is supposed to, and undoubtedly does, make many of these ap-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pointments upon recommendations from Senators. It is to the interest of Senators, therefore, to help the President carry out his program and to confirm the nominees that he names. If a Senator is conscientiously opposed to the confirmation of any nominee and still desires to bask in the official smiles of presidential favor, this secret method of concealing the facts from the public, while they are given to the President, enables him to carry out such a program. He can violate his convictions as to public duty without his constituents finding it out, at the same time knowing that the man in the White House, who holds the power of future appointments, will be able to know that he has been faithful and is therefore entitled to favorable consideration in future recommendations. What is still more, if his constituents should refuse to reelect him, he knows that the secret information in the hands of the President may go far in placing him in the lame-duck colony and win him a fat berth because of his faithful service to the party chief rather than to his constituency.

It has sometimes been said as an excuse for this secret procedure that it is akin to the Australian ballot system and that the Australian ballot system is founded upon the principle that the voter should be allowed to vote in secret and thus be independent of any other influence. The individual voter who casts his ballot in an election represents only himself. He is performing a function that is personal with himself, and it is therefore proper that he should be protected from any outside influence. Moreover the voter who is inclined to be corrupt and who is willing to accept pay for casting his vote in any particular way is by this secret Australian ballot method prevented from giving information to those who would corrupt him and is not able to let them know whether or not he has redeemed his promise. The purchaser of votes, therefore, is deprived of the ability to ascertain whether the man whom he has purchased has made good and, as a result, he is less likely to attempt to corrupt the individual voter. The Senator acts in a representative capacity. In the aggregate a Senator's vote means the vote of more than a million of our citizens. He is acting not for himself but for his constituents, and therefore he has no honorable right to conceal from those whom he represents how he has officially acted in any particular case. On the other hand, it is his duty to give them the fullest and most complete information on the subject. Official acts of the honest and honorable agent will never be concealed from the principal.

Upon all matters of legislation as well as upon all controverted confirmations there are always two sides to the question. The Senator cannot and ought not try to escape criticism. If he is not willing to assume the responsibility of executing his conscientious convictions when called upon to act officially, then he is not qualified to be a member of the Senate. On the other hand, the Senator who does act conscientiously ought to have the approval and approbation of his constituents for his official conduct. This rule for secrecy in the Senate as now interpreted deprives every Senator of a right which every honest man must concede he should have—the right to defend himself before the public upon any controverted question upon which he has officially acted. If the roll-call is held in secret and no Senator is allowed to disclose his own vote, then any Senator who is criticized must, in order to defend himself, violate a rule of the Senate, which if enforced would mean his expulsion from that body. Not only has the public a right to know, but the Senator himself has a right to tell.

The man who refuses to tell how he has voted on an important matter in the Senate will very likely be condemned for such refusal by both sides of the controversy; and it will not only be the individual Senator who will be condemned but such action on the part of the Senate will bring condemnation upon that body as a whole. It will lose its prestige before the country; it will lose the confidence of the people, as well as respect for its actions and its laws. This secret method of procedure enables the party in power, through its President, to control not only the action of the Senate with reference to confirmation, but to influence its membership on all matters of legislation by a method contrary to the very fundamental principles of a free government and at complete variance with the intention of the framers of our Constitution. It enables the man in the White House to keep tab upon every Senator and to know in all cases the names of those Senators who have acted in compliance with the secret instructions of the head of the party; and it does this by concealing from the constituents of Senators the official acts of their own servants who may be, without their knowledge, violating their confidence, if not their direct instructions. In addition to the power of the political machine and the political boss it places in the hands of those behind the scenes the power of punishment or reward of the people's chosen representatives. It possesses the same inherent evil that secrecy in governmental affairs always contains and, if carried to its logical conclusion and applied to other governmental functions, means the injury and ultimate destruction of free government. Such conduct on the part of high officials cannot be defended upon any ground consistent with the fundamental principles which underlie our republic.

Shadows for Florida

By CARL RAKOSI

Summer, the Negro's cabin was full of voices,
and the sawgrass pointed straight north toward the cities;
and I said: "Are you giving us a tune, brother?"

So he chanted: "Hosanna's in the cotton,
and singing's in the citrus;
there is singing with the blackbirds too;
there is singing from the rocks.
Should I sing from the rocks?
Should I sing from the rocks
if I can not find Jesus?"

Go on singing, brother, go on.
And the blackbird filled the palms.

While in the slack season the building tradesmen
quartered on the Eastern seaboard.
"Stick together, white men," I advised,
"Where else will you find so many voices?"
But they protested in a deep key:
"We don't hear anything;
nothing here but heat waves;
nothing here but scrub and dark children.
What are the voices about?
Are they with us?
Will they tell us about the snow on Main Street?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Strike and an American

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

SCENE: A crowded New Jersey courtroom. Jersey justice is to be done to an incredible creature, one who leads a strike, one who dares admit that he believes in communism. Reporters crowd around; the room is jammed with deputy sheriffs and policemen. Authority stands everywhere. The judge enters and solemnly charges the Sheriff thus: "You will place your deputies at all the doors. Everyone will be seated. There shall be no demonstrations of approval or disapproval of any of the Court's actions whatsoever. This ruling must be strictly obeyed. Anyone disobeying will be ejected from the room." He takes his seat. The tipstaves, Jersey relics of bygone judicial dignity, stand as if at attention; their staves suggest the golf-links. The judge proceeds to settle the cases of some vulgar criminals. Then *the* case is called. For Weisbord, the strike-leader, there is this display of force; for Weisbord two hundred strikers have come to see and hear; because of Weisbord the reporters throng. The local lawyer for the defense arises. There is still courtesy and dignity in law courts. He asks the judge to grant the courtesy of the bar of New Jersey to his associate, Bainbridge Colby, of the bar of New York. The judge assents with much manner and there arises the last Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Woodrow Wilson, by the irony of fate the very man who framed the policy of the United States—still persisted in—of refusing to recognize the Government of Soviet Russia.

The ex-Secretary of State speaks with clearness, force, ability, in quiet tones, with all courtesy; explaining why he, an outsider, feels it necessary to plead in this "quiet, calm court"; declaring—in marked contrast to the brutality, excitability, and alarm of the Passaic police—that the issues involved can only be settled by fair play, fair-mindedness, and lack of passion. There are deep, fundamental issues, he declares, at stake, issues so far-reaching as to involve all citizens of this great country. The rights of free speech and free assembly are beyond discussion; everybody is entitled to them, he goes on. They can not be successfully challenged. But he is there, he who is not a Communist, he who thinks we have the best government in the world, to protest that such high bail is oppressive, unjust, and contrary to law and to the spirit of our institutions. Along these lines he argued always in the same calm, even, yet eloquent tones. In vain so far as the judge was concerned. Courtesy the judge may have, but inflexibility as well. Weisbord was held on the four charges, to support which there exists only police evidence, and bail of $25,000 was demanded. As soon as it was furnished he was arrested again, this time by the authorities of Garfield on much the same charges, in pursuit of a deliberately laid plan to pile bail upon this man up to $90,000 or $100,000 so that he could not possibly obtain it and thus could be kept behind the bars in defiance of the laws which provide that a man accused as he is shall be admitted to bail. So anxious about the safety of the Government of the United States are these polite, petty judges of New Jersey that besides charging Weisbord with incitement to riot and solicitation to overt acts of violence they declare that he has also "incited hostility against the Government."

I have dwelt upon this appearance of Bainbridge Colby in that prejudiced, tipstaved New Jersey court not only because of his generosity and public spirit in offering to appear on the unpopular side without any compensation whatever, but also because of the glaring contrast to his public spirit evidenced by his brethren of the bar of New Jersey, the clergy, and the public men of that State, who should have been heard from in this crisis. Yes, there was one other New Yorker, Samuel Untermyer, who likewise dropped his practice, to go to Washington in order to urge a senatorial inquiry into the tearing up of the Constitution of the United States by the official law-breakers of Passaic and Garfield. But we have come to expect that of Samuel Untermyer; for a long time past it has been known that he was to be had for righteous causes in which his sympathies were enlisted and always without thought of compensation. While Mr. Colby feels that New Jersey has been disgraced by these lawless happenings, to me, accustomed as I have been to recording similar defiance of American law and principles and of the American Bill of Rights by public officials, the sinister fact is that the conscience of New Jersey has been silent. One of the best-known citizens of the State was asked to join a committee of inquiry and protest; the invitation was enthusiastically accepted and the acceptance peremptorily withdrawn the next day by telegram. Somebody exercised pressure. The Passaic Presbytery would not allow the Rev. Norman Thomas, Presbyterian minister though he is, to address it in regular session, and when he spoke afterward to some who waited to hear him there was a violent challenging of his statement that the church could not afford to keep silent, as Wendell Phillips would have put it, "in the presence of sin."

Mr. Colby was right in declaring that the issues in the Passaic case affect every American, that is every American who loves his country. That clergymen could sit by and see men, women, and children beaten up by the police, newspapermen assaulted, their cameras smashed, without lifting their voices in protest, without leaping to succor the victims of what to all attempts and purposes is a gigantic conspiracy on the part of public officials and mill-owners to break a justifiable strike seems almost incredible. The lawyers of New Jersey, like all other lawyers, are sworn officials of the court; their oath makes them a part of the judicial machinery. Yet there has been no committee formed and no public action taken to redeem the State from this disgrace. Some of them when approached, and some New York lawyers, too, have hesitated and wanted to "verify the facts."

But the facts are undisputed. The New York reporters who were beaten up by the police and had their cameras smashed while on their legal business know where the facts lie, and so does every reporter who has been in the strike area. They know that the charges of communism are trumped up; they know that these men, women, and children have shown the most amazing endurance and self-control during the fourteen weeks of this long-drawn-out strike. The Governor of New Jersey, who has backed and filled, has said he would not intervene, and then offered to mediate with a couple of military officers and a labor leader

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as his board of arbitration, has confessed by this act that Passaic was disgracing the State as well as the United States. Yet even he would not negotiate with Weisbord because he was an outsider! As if this made any difference when there is intense human suffering to be ended, a most inequitable condition of affairs to be remedied, and a real reign of law and order to be established without the aid of obsolete riot acts and double-barreled shotguns and policemen who club women and little children! When one considers these things the wonder is not that a Colby and Untermyer have come to the front like truly patriotic Americans, but that hundreds of others have not volunteered to save the law and New Jersey authority from complete contempt.

Success "Dope"

By STUART CHASE

A COMPLETE census of American quackery would reveal, one suspects, a panorama without parallel in history. From Oom the Omnipotent, who knows how to work up stage, to Bertha Betty's Beauty Spot Shoppe, which sells you a facial clay for $10 a pound made from equal parts of kaolin and water, costing just 20 cents; from obesity cures containing the head of a tapeworm in a pellet of gelatine to rejuvenating lotions compounded of dried glandular matter; from Divine Healers, who supply their advance agents with self-portraits copied from the head of Christ, to swamis in cerise bathrobes in the spook parlors of Los Angeles; from Florida realtors to those Men of Vision who sell us, annually, six hundred million dollars' worth of recently vacated oil wells and other sky-blue securities; from Oriental universities furnishing Ph.D.'s for $50 cash down or $55 on the instalment plan to that great industry which, with many beautiful illustrations, instructs us in the art of eating soup so that it does not sound like a subway train—in brief, from San Diego to Portland, Maine, we have a diverting spectacle of organized quackery in action. But of the whole panorama none charms us more than the peddler of success dope. We refer not so much to the bright youths who write for the *American Magazine* as to the super-salesmen who have made a paying business of purveying to the simple, the hopeful, and the incompetent various patent specifics for obtaining success and power—such a one, for example, as the gifted Robert Collier, whose latest opus, "The Book of Life," lies before us.

In order to understand the nature of Mr. Collier's services, let us submit ourselves cheerfully, without fear of expense, to his life-giving ministrations. Preliminary to the examination of the opus there are certain rites and ceremonies without which one fears there would be no opus at all. These ceremonies include (1) a prospectus in two colors, profusely illustrated, and (2) a Special Introductory Coupon engraved like a bond certificate which entitles the fortunate holder to a 40 per cent reduction. As a ledger clerk or a toiling pants salesman, and thus in good standing on Mr. Collier's sucker list, we open the imposing letter and proceed to absorb the pictures and the underlying text of the prospectus.

Page One. THE SECRET OF THE AGES. HOW YOU LIVE YOUR DREAM

Picture of Moorish gentleman about to embrace Moorish lady—happily unveiled and with vast decolletage—under minarets, while a mystic figure in the background does a sort of a Shriner's obeisance athwart a blood-red moon.

> You cannot see It, but you can feel It, use It. Properly used it can make of you a Napoleon, an Edison, a Roosevelt, a Lincoln. *There is no limit to what you can do with It!* Call it what you will, It is there—a sleeping Giant who, aroused, can carry us on to fame and fortune overnight.

Though we may call it what we will, it seems that the SCIENTISTS have a name for it, a smashing name—"Our Second Subliminal Mind." Furthermore it appears that the scientists are just beginning to understand the Power—deep within ourselves—which "Wise Men of the East had grasped, thousands of years ago." Which puts us in tune with the Mystic Shriner at the top of the page, and also with a sort of coffee percolator steaming away down at the bottom, and not to be mistaken for anything but Aladdin's lamp.

Page Two. BUBBLES. THE SECRET OF SUCCESS

Picture of Nordic gentleman on plush sofa, clasping Nordic lady, while back of sofa rise two round soap bubbles, one greater, one smaller; the first containing a large Queen Anne mansion, with cypress trees and a limousine under the porte-cochère; the second an ocean-going steam yacht.

> You know the air castles a young fellow builds when he is planning his future with his Best Girl.

Alas for most of us, these dreams collapse. The Bronx instead of Tarrytown. But, thank heaven—

> Man, man, there's more to life than that! There is everything you looked for in the roseate dreams of your youth! Right within yourself is the Rockefeller-Morgan-Ford-Edison power of TURNING THE TIDE IN YOUR FAVOR AND TURNING IT NOW, NOW, NOW! Listen! There really is a well defined SECRET OF SUCCESS, whereby OTHER men rose higher—and YOU can!

Note those two words "well defined."

Page Three. HOW FORTUNE CAME TO JOHN RANDALL. OPEN SESAME!

Picture of same Nordic couple in full fig crashing into what appears to be a combination of the Waldorf dining-room and a Japanese pagoda. The obsequiousness of the waiters is superb.

> When a man 38 years of age, who has been working at a moderate salary all his life, suddenly awakens and solely through his own efforts jumps into a $12,000-a-year job almost overnight—*there is something about his methods that other men would like to know at once.*

It cannot be any too soon for us, Mr. Collier. "The secret of his sudden rise is in the little books pictured on the next page." We turn over with eager fingers.

Pages Four and Five. Double Spread. No text at all except a few chapter headings of the opus which is to teach us all to be John Randalls:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FIRST LAW OF GAIN
ALADDIN & CO.
THE MAGIC STREET
THE ACRE OF DIAMONDS
WHY GROW OLD? [*Why, indeed!*]
THE FORMULA OF SUCCESS
THE TALISMAN OF NAPOLEON

Picture of gentleman seated at his office desk rubbing the aforementioned coffee percolator, from the nozzle of which issue (1) steam, (2) seven volumes of the "Book of Life," (3) a genie, (4) the skyline of New York.

Page Six. Picture of a flight of steps made up of volumes of the "Book of Life." On the highest book is a flat-topped mahogany desk surmounted by a telephone, and on its shank the word "executive." Up these steps, his eye glued to the word, our hero is climbing, with a fade-out of the New York skyline again in the background.

Page Seven. PAY DAY. WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO YOU?

Picture of father, mother, and curly-headed kiddy seated amid the splendors of a Hearn's parlor suite ($187.50) gazing with what can only be called rapture at an open book which father holds in his hand. The "Book of Life"? Wrong. If one may say so without sacrilege, an even greater book. A bank book.

If you had to have more money to support those dependent upon you, could you make it? You could if you had the Secret of Success.

Thus are these two great books happily united.

Page Eight, and last. ARE YOU HITTING AT NOTHING?

Picture of Hart Schaffner and Marx young man whanging away at nothing at all, with appropriate text drawing a parallel with the Niagara River. It seems that the Niagara River was whanging away at nothing at all—for uncounted eons, mind you—until the General Electric took it in hand. Thus a mere scenic dud has been turned into Success.

And so we can turn uncertainty, hesitancy, delay, and fear into POSITIVE, VIGOROUS, UNAFRAID, SUCCESSFUL ACTION!

Our pipe is out, the *Saturday Evening Post* lies unheeded in the corner, forgotten the pinochle game at Joe's. . . . Spires and towers and minarets. Lamps and genii. Moorish ladies and steam yachts. Limousines and cypress trees. All packed away deep, deep, down inside. Just a little rub, just a little formula, and wouldn't we tell that fellow Smith who thinks he is trying to run the audited vouchers department where he gets off! We take up the gaudy coupon.

Mr. Collier: You may send me one of the Autographed Advance Sets of the "Book of Life," beautifully bound in Artcraft, at your special Introductory Price of $6.85.

A clatter of dishes comes from the kitchen. We open our mouth to shout to the wife, as is our wont. Then, abruptly, we shut our mouth. Women are no judges of things like this. Really big things. Big business things. Lord! Twelve thousand smackers a year! Women just haven't any sense where big, hustling, two-fisted decisions are involved. And he was 38 when he started. . . . We sign on the dotted line.

There is very little more to tell. We get the books. But so much of Mr. Collier's art has been exhausted in the prospectus that little remains for the opus. Each volume contains about fifty pages, with very few words to the page. Which, all things considered, is a mercy. The printing cost per volume can hardly exceed 10 cents. The technique seems to be to employ one paragraph for general exhortation, such as "*You* have that gift. *Use it!*" followed by a paragraph in which Messrs. Napoleon, Carnegie, Cato, Galileo, Rockefeller, Pygmalion, Brisbane, Humboldt, and Plato are brought to bear witness that you have the gift.

So far as the promised formulae are concerned—magic formulae, but well defined—the only one that we have been able to locate is this, a formula to keep us from growing old:

Find a picture—or, better still, a statuette—of the man you would like to be. Keep it in your room. When you go to bed at night, *visualize* it in your mind's eye—hold it in your thought as YOU. Give that model to your Subconscious Mind to build upon—and before eleven months are out, that model WILL BE YOU.

Mr. Collier may be sincere. The kindest thing is to hope that he is. But he certainly possesses an uncanny divination—in his prospectus—for selecting the vulnerable points in the psychology of the white-collar worker. He makes six specific and telling drives upon the hopes and the despairs of the man who finds himself settling into the rut of a standardized and futureless job; the man who is almost beaten, but, like a fish on a bank, has still a feeble flop or two in him:

1. The appeal to cupidity. He will tell you how to become rich and powerful.
2. The appeal to sex. Beautiful ladies; even the delicate hint of a harem of beautiful ladies.
3. The appeal to mysticism. Magic formulae; the wisdom of the East. The roots of all religion are bound up with this appeal.
4. The promise of the end of monotony and routine. No appeal is more forcible in a machine civilization.
5. The fountain of youth; coupled with the diabolical suggestion that aging men can achieve the formulae.
6. The appeal to the hearthstone. For $6.85 he will deliver your loved ones from the ghastly threat of economic insecurity.

It takes more education, more worldly wisdom, than the average slave of the desk possesses to stand up against any such assault as this. Still, there is always the chance that he hasn't the $6.85.

Restoration

By DAVID MORTON

Whatever it was that troubled me went by,
With a great wind that went with a great roar;
And there were mountains . . . and a road . . . and I,
And fields—and stars, where nothing was before.
The road had left the town so far behind
That all there was of town had fallen away,
Where roads and winter fields were all but blind
With darkness coming over the ends of day.

Whatever it was that troubled me was gone,
When I turned back, with starlight sifting down
Gray in the road that I was walking on;
And a great wind strode with me into town,
With a great shout that might have been my name,
And all the stars behind me as I came.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Prohibition on Trial

By H. C. ENGELBRECHT

II. The Drys Answer

THE drys have had their inning. After the spirited attack of the wets they jumped into the fray to recover any ground they might have lost, and, if possible, to establish themselves even more firmly. Dry tactics may be grouped as follows: An answer to the wet indictment of the Volstead law; an attack on the saloon and its concomitant evils—for they insist that any modification of the present law will inevitably bring back the saloon; an attempt to ascribe to prohibition enormous social and economic gains; an appeal to the conscience of the world; and a reminder of their voting strength.

In carrying out these tactics the drys chose their witnesses from the very groups which had testified for the wets: enforcement officials, educators, labor leaders, Catholic priests, district attorneys, social workers, the Canadians, etc. Governor Pinchot sent a statement covering Pennsylvania. The heads of the score of anti-alcohol leagues, mostly Protestant ministers, defended their cause. Finally mention must be made of the testimony of Chicago's mayor. Claimed by both sides as important evidence, it was perhaps the sanest, most careful, and least biased statement made at the hearings.

The ministers outnumbered all other witnesses by about two to one, but their testimony was, by comparison, worthless. They paid more attention to rhetoric than to exact evidence; they specialized in appeal rather than in statement of fact; they were readier with generalizations than with specific instances. For that reason Senator Reed wielded his lash: "Ninety per cent of the dry evidence would be excluded in any court on earth." For the purposes of this summary we may safely ignore their remarks and briefly review the more serious testimony of the other witnesses for the defense.

The Answer to the Wet Indictment

Briefly, every charge of the wets was categorically denied. The enormous diversion of alcohol from government plants (60,000,000 gallons) was declared to be fantastic, 13,000,000 gallons being much nearer the facts. The number of stills was greatly exaggerated, their total being closer to 17,000 than 1,720,000. Deaths due to alcoholism were decreasing. The mounting number of arrests for violation of the Volstead law proved the increasing effectiveness of law enforcement, not the multiplication of violators. Bootleggers were recruited largely—at least 60 per cent—from the aliens and the foreign-born. The liquor interests were said to have agents in several European countries which were sending over aliens ready to undertake this very profitable, but also dangerous business. The trade being mostly un-American it would be well to fingerprint and deport the aliens engaged in it. Educators declared that the students were obeying the law; social workers and ministers vouched for the scarcity of stills in the homes; leaders of young people insisted that their proteges had been badly maligned. Government agents were defended against the charge of disregard for law in enforcing prohibition. Organized labor, far from presenting a united front against the present law, was said to be much divided on the question, for which reason Mr. Gompers had tried to avoid public discussion of the issue at conventions.

Answer was also made to specific points in the indictment. One Catholic priest had declared the anthracite region of Pennsylvania to be wet and demoralized; another insisted that it was dry and law-abiding. Yale was claimed for the drys by a professor, for the wets by students, and again for the drys by the professor. Pennsylvania had figured in the wet indictment, so Governor Pinchot made a written report concerning the progress of enforcement in his State since 1923. Philadelphia formerly counted from 150 to 400 intoxicated persons in the streets on any evening; that number has been reduced to three. Over one hundred breweries were compelled to cease operation. Of 151 manufacturers of toilet water, hair tonic, tobacco, or disinfecting sprays 128 were found guilty of violating the law and most of them were prevented from further transgression. Arrests and convictions of violators were increasing, likewise the seizure of illicit liquor and stills. Thus the Governor made a case for the possibility of enforcement, if sincerely attempted. In a similar way, the same point was made in the case of Chicago and Cleveland. The New York situation was analyzed, and while it was declared to be far better than had been reported, disregard for the law was blamed on the failure of the State to cooperate with the Federal Government.

Social and Economic Gains

It was in the field of social and economic welfare that the drys saw the justification and the necessity for prohibition. They showed a tendency to appropriate every advance of recent years for the dry law. The more careful witnesses were ready to concede the importance of other factors. The mere list of their claims is impressive. The outlawing of the saloon destroyed a great social and political evil and eliminated enormous economic waste. Prohibition has been a great blessing for the home. It has made money available for better and more sanitary dwellings; it has helped to give better educational opportunities to many children and youth; it has prevented disease or helped to cure it; it has wiped out much suffering from poverty or from cruel drunkards; it has made for better-dressed, better-fed, and happier children. Economically, likewise, many excellent results were ascribed to the Eighteenth Amendment. Real wages were said to be 32 per cent higher than in the wet era. Savings in the banks have mounted to unprecedented sums. Our present prosperity was held to be chiefly a result of the dry law. Employers found more dependable laborers now than formerly. The high standard of living in America was further evidence of the excellent prohibitory laws.

The Present Problem

The drys insisted that the overwhelming majority of people in the country were against any change in the law. The farm population was solidly behind it. The only problem was in the cities. Here the huge profits of the traffic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had brought forth the law-defying bootlegger. To yield to this lawless element would be a surrender of democracy. The problem to be faced was one of law enforcement. Observation and study showed that cooperation between federal, State, and city authorities always succeeded in driving out the traffic. Prohibition being "the greatest social advance since the emancipation of the slave" every effort must be made to hold the progress that has been attained. There can be no thought of modification. The best and most efficient enforcement ought to be the only topic considered.

CONCLUSION

The wets have again answered the drys. The debate is therefore just opened, not ended. Wets and drys both seem pleased with the testimony of Mayor Dever of Chicago. Let them ponder the wise words of this man: "We want intelligent consideration and to drive the ballyhoo and the blah out of the discussion. Rely for advice on people not affected by personal advantage and pay-roll attachments either way. Don't pay attention to men whose minds are not operating while their tongues are clamoring. . . . I have only arrived so far in my belief on the question that it has got to be studied, that it has got to be thought over most earnestly and carefully and sincerely."

In the Driftway

FROM Impach, Washington, comes a plea to the Drifter to do justice to an incident which, as the correspondent writes, "our reporteress lost in a cloud of words" in the local paper. On an Indian reservation recently a dance for white people was in progress. Suddenly the orchestra stopped short in the middle of a tune. Through the door glided the sleek dark body of an Indian boy of 18, naked except for a loin-cloth, his face daubed fantastically with lampblack. In front of the startled crowd, which huddled against the walls, the gleaming body gyrated through a weird, primitive dance. When he had scarcely begun, however, civilization interfered. According to the "reporteress," "quick hands grabbed at the gliding warrior and with a propelling kick from the floor manager, 'Mr. Red Man' was launched outside into the snow." And soon thereafter, she relates, "he was hustled into his clothes and away from the scene." The party proceeded as if nothing had happened; the dancing of the wild brown body was replaced with the virtuous regularity of the fox-trot; and law and order were restored.

* * * * *

THE story goes on to explain: "It was sometime before a reason could be assigned for this extreme reverting to the primitive, but on investigation it was found that for several weeks, in the homes of some of the older Indians, the annual Chinook dances have been in progress. At these dances the weird medicine-making performances of olden days are still indulged in. It is said that one dancer of the group is designated as the 'Blue Jay dancer.' His duties are to make medicine and dance, clad only in nature's garments and a breech-cloth. Of these practices," she hastens to add, "the white folk who live in the neighborhood know nothing, for they do not mingle with the Indians in any way. The Indian lad, who shocked and scattered the dancers Saturday night, had apparently been in attendance at one of these dances and had conceived the idea that he would show the white folks what a Blue Jay dancer could do. It might be possible that a little fire water had made the Indian more bold than sane."

* * * * *

IT is the last paragraph of this smug description of an ancient rite to which the Drifter's correspondent most strenuously objects. "Nothing could be more absurd," she says. "There are many preparations for the medicine dances and they are religiously performed. 'Fire-water' is not permitted, as the Good Spirit will not work with it in the room or tent where the dance is carried on. Blue Jay's conduct can be explained as self-hypnotism or religious ecstasy, but certainly not as drunkenness." Then she goes on, "His name comes through the fact that he is inspired by the blue jay. Our present Medicine Man is not very good because he gets his instructions from the common barnyard fowl, the hen! The squirrel, robin, ground-hog, and bear are among the most efficient messengers of the Spirit. At least the Indians here have more faith in them." The Drifter, too, is discouraged by the style of the newspaper report, but he is even more disheartened by the incident itself. Even in the West, apparently, wildness has become a sin, and sanity is valued above boldness. Civilization, with its fear, its self-righteousness, is creeping westward, to bind the Indian's lithe muscles with ugly clothes and tame the poetry out of him. And if he does, in the words of the reporter, "forget his white man's training" and "revert to primitive type," he is taunted with having used fire-water or some other stimulus which his tame white brother, in self-defense, has invented that he may himself sometimes find relief in primal carelessness. Thus wildness fares in a tame world. But fortunately it has a way of breaking through at unexpected moments to frighten civilized man with the gleaming naked body of reality. And though it is banished as soon as common sense and logic regain control, it can never be wholly captured or destroyed. For which fact the Drifter cannot but feel a certain pagan gratitude.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

The House Autobiography

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with both surprise and interest your criticism of the House Memoirs which appeared in *The Nation* of April 14. Knowing your impression of Mr. House, I was not prepared for the severity of the comments; as, indeed, no one could have been prepared for such a challenge to criticism as those volumes present. For one, I would have been glad to count Mr. House's contribution with the many quasi-official but uninteresting indiscretions that have of late flooded the market. Obviously, that is impossible. Neither can Mr. House be classed with Page, who, however unique in his conception of an ambassador's obligation, was at least consistent in advocating the interests of the same foreign country throughout.

But the personal attitude of Mr. House scarcely concerns us, hard as it is to fathom how a man who claims to have inspired all the actors in a great drama, without ever so much as getting between the wings of the stage, could now gather the resolution to step before the public with so revealing an account of himself and the dead President. Would he have done it if his former friend were here to speak?

However, that is all incidental—fit subject for psycho-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

logical inquiry. What does concern and astound us is the proof of the humiliating position in which a great and supposedly free people were held during all those years, through the maneuvering of a stray politician who was permitted by the secret authority of our President to gain audiences, to invite and to extend confidences in matters of gravest concern, to issue threats and to extend assurances that involved the physical and moral fate of a nation, to promise peace with no result but to perpetuate war; and in general to so shape his course as to spell disaster in every instance as the culmination of his vagarious plans and tortuous schemes.

But we must not be ungrateful. When Mr. Lansing remained in the Cabinet, his best friends regretted his sacrifice. When his book appeared, they saw a new method by which the man may serve the cause. So here. Humiliating as the picture is to its author, to the dead President, and to the people, nevertheless we have solemn warning how foreign affairs should never be handled; and how they may and perhaps must be conducted, so long as we continue to be the easy victims of ready slogans and felicitous speech.

St. Louis, April 24 CHARLES NAGEL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I think your review of House's book is one of the most brilliant pieces of book reviewing I ever read. Of course, I totally agreed with House in thinking this country ought to go into the war. However, you are not supposed to write book reviews from my point of view. You are supposed to write them from your own point of view. And, from your point of view, that attack of yours on House is most certainly one of the ablest things I ever saw. Congratulations! Moreover, from any point of view, House's notion that a wandering individual American, even though the President's best friend, could change the Europe of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar and Charlemagne and Philip II and Napoleon, out of hand, was certainly the most fantastic idea since Don Quixote thought that Rosinante was a war horse. You certainly have the core of journalism; and that's courage.

Washington, April 16 H. B.

"Pig Iron" Kelley

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am making a study of the life and public services of Judge William D. Kelley, better known as "Pig Iron" Kelley, Congressman from the Fourth District of Philadelphia from 1861 to 1890. I should like to obtain originals or copies of any letters written by or to Mr. Kelley during his long period of public life. I should like to hear from any of your readers who may know about the existence of such letters.

HUGH T. LEFLER

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April 1

The Mind of a Creditor Nation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Did it ever occur to you that when we confiscated private alien property we were still in the frame of mind of a debtor nation; that we now are a creditor nation with real American money all over the world, and that if we did not know that there was such a thing as a "moral responsibility" the time would now be ripe to invent one?

Must we always imitate our English brethren by ascribing anything we do to our aspiration to spread Kultur and religion? Those millions which we now refund, and which never belonged to us, are a mighty fine investment when we claim in the next war—the sanctity of our money.

Brooklyn, April 2 M. KIRCHBERGER

The Name "America"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Shall the United States maintain its long-assumed right to the name "America"? In featuring "America and the World Court," and later (March 3) in its rejoicing that "America is not mixed up in the daily intrigues and quarrels of Europe" (notice Brazil keeping out of the mix-up), and in many another notable instance *The Nation* answers in the affirmative. *The Nation* is but one of hundreds of voices of press, pulpit, and statesmen through which the nation continually asserts this right. Could a national assumption so well established be translated—say, in Latin America—as national arrogance?

Berkeley, California, March 19 C. L. COGGINS

For Historical Research

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A movement for the promotion of historical work in America, which has just been inaugurated by the American Historical Association, is of so much importance to all who care for the humanities that I venture to bring it to your attention and that of your readers. It is proposed to raise an endowment fund of $1,000,000, the income of which will be used by the association to develop its present activities more adequately and to expand them to include, among other things, the promotion of individual and cooperative research through surveys and subventions and the publication of the results of such research. Special attention will be given to the study of the historical backgrounds of current problems in cooperation with workers in the related social sciences. This attempt to raise an endowment is in the hands of a special committee, of which Albert J. Beveridge is the chairman, and headquarters have been established at 110 Library Building, Columbia University, New York.

The American Historical Association was founded in 1885 by a group of the leading scholars in the historical field, led by Ambassador Andrew D. White. In the forty years of its existence the association, which was the first of the social-science groups to organize, has extended its membership to almost 3,000, and a survey of its work would show that it has been immensely effective in stimulating, directing, and developing the study of history, the preservation of records, and the organization of State and local societies working for the same purposes.

Besides publishing its reports and conducting annual meetings the association has sponsored a considerable series of publications and investigations ranging all the way from the teaching in secondary schools to the study of the archives and records of the various States. Possibly the most signal thing is the maintenance of the *American Historical Review*, which, under the editorship of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, the director of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and one of the founders of the association, is now, I think, freely recognized as the best of the historical magazines.

All of this has been done on very limited funds, chiefly the annual dues of the members, who are themselves, in the most part, teachers and scholars in this field. I know that when I was a member of the council some years ago it was a matter of distress to make out a budget when we could give only $25 to an important committee—hardly enough to pay postage. In this effort to increase the endowment fund, little will be accomplished unless support comes from outside the membership. If the endowment desired is secured, the association will be able to mobilize the energy of its trained scholars, and the result will be a great advance in historical research.

Minneapolis, March 22 GUY STANTON FORD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books, Music, Plays

The Acolyte

By JAMES RORTY

The locust, because the meadow is warm in the present
Stare of the sun, has devised this evident
Ritual, whereby a pious rubbing of thighs
Proclaims that the sun doth rise
Higher toward noon; and though the incessant whine
Of his metaphysical saw cuts nothing but the blue
Air, nothing less strong than this divine
Unreason will suffice for you,
Poet; look how the mowers in the field
Lean on their forks and listen to the long
Drone of this ignorant cantor—would they yield
An equal unforced tribute to your song?
Nothing less strong, poet; and in your lack
Of accomplished thighs, one might suggest
A season or two of silence; then come back
And listen first at evening, it were best,
And when the whippoorwill begins to cry,
Say nothing; be a most astute
Listener; later you may want to try
A pale derivative hoot.

First Glance

THE numerous series of reprints wherewith we are blessed today continue to thrive and to put forth new titles. Eight new volumes in the Loeb Classical Library (Putnam: $2.50 each) carry that enterprise, so frequently celebrated in *The Nation*, further toward completion; and they introduce into the series a new, much-needed author. Mr. R. D. Hicks by translating Diogenes Laertius in two volumes has rendered accessible once more (the Bohn edition being no longer easily attainable) the one surviving compiler of late Greek times who wrote the lives and discussed the works of the Greek philosophers from Thales to Epicurus. With more faults than virtues, Laertius is yet unparalleled; and he is priceless. Two more volumes of the Plato are also now to be had, one, translated by W. R. M. Lamb, containing the "Lysis," the "Symposium," and the "Gorgias," and the other, translated by H. N. Fowler, containing the "Cratylus," the "Parmenides," the "Greater Hippias," and the "Lesser Hippias." The eighth volume of Ernest Cary's Dio, the third volume of R. M. Gummere's "Epistles" of Seneca, and the second volume of H. Weir Smyth's Aeschylus are continuations or completions; while the "Histories" of the incomparable Tacitus are begun by Clifford H. Moore's highly competent version of the first three books.

The World's Classics (Oxford: 80 cents each) would seem to avoid the specialization which distinguishes the newer series; yet even within the range of its hundreds of titles there are to be seen signs of an interesting and intelligent direction. The new volumes of "Selected Czech Tales" and "Selected Russian Tales" follow the "Polish Tales" of a year or so ago; the Tolstoi of Aylmer Maude now includes "What Then Must We Do?"; the selection from Southey's letters is followed by selections from the letters of Gray and Dr. Johnson; and an edition of Smollett—I hope—begins with "Humphrey Clinker."

The American Library (A. & C. Boni: various prices) is building upon the best of bases—a desire to make available certain vigorous and representative American books which for one reason or another have never effected an entrance into our canon. The "Journal" of Columbus and the selection from "The Jesuit Relations" made by Edna Kenton are perhaps the most important titles thus far, though the volumes of Melville, Ambrose Bierce, Artemus Ward, Crèvecœur, Harold Frederic, and Fitz-James O'Brien which have appeared have of course been interesting. The claim of the Blue Jade Library (Knopf: $3 each) that it explores "the field of the semi-classic, semi-curious books which have enjoyed great celebrity but little actual distribution" is best vindicated, I think, by the latest addition, a complete translation into the flawless English of C. K. Scott Moncrieff of "The Letters of Abelard and Heloise," with a characteristic prefatory letter by George Moore—who in these days has a unique right to be thus involved. The latest volumes in The Modern Library (Modern Library Publishers: 95 cents each) were noticed in a recent issue of *The Nation*. I should add that "Don Quixote" (2 volumes: $7.50), with an introduction by George Edward Woodberry, is now to be found among The Borzoi Classics (Knopf). And as this goes to press a new Catullus, in the English of F. A. Wright and others, arrives among The Broadway Translations (Dutton: $3).

An entirely new series which promises more than well is The Rogue's Bookshelf (Greenberg), under the general editorship of Ernest Brennecke. Both the editors and the titles as announced are a guaranty that the library will be varied in what it offers and expertly attended as it appears. The six items already published are "Lazarillo de Tormes" ($2), with an introduction by Carl Van Doren which incidentally introduces the series; Smollett's "Ferdinand Count Fathom" ($2.50), edited by Ernest Boyd; H. H. Brackenridge's "Modern Chivalry" ($2.50), edited by Mr. Brennecke; Godwin's "Caleb Williams" ($2.50), edited by Van Wyck Brooks; Nashe's "Unfortunate Traveler" ($2), edited by Samuel C. Chew; and Fielding's "Jonathan Wild" ($2), edited by John Macy. This is a superb beginning; but Mr. Greenberg promises twenty-seven further titles, most of them just as good.

MARK VAN DOREN

Mussolini Minus

The Life of Benito Mussolini. By Margherita Sarfatti. Translated by Frederic Whyte. Frederick A. Stokes and Company. $5.

MUSSOLINI himself provides us with a most apt criticism of Signora Sarfatti's book in the preface he has contributed: "In this book my life is to be found recorded—at least such part of it as can be made known, for every man has secrets and shady nooks that are not to be explored." The shady nooks, if not the most edifying, are certainly not the least interesting part of Mussolini's career. Though his latest biographer carefully avoids them, her book is for all that very readable, as she seems to have known her subject intimately and to have studied his character at close quarters over a number of years.

The vicissitudes of Mussolini's life have been many. The son of a village blacksmith and innkeeper in the Romagna, he first qualified as a teacher; but the profession does not seem to have appealed to him, as he is to be found tramping from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

canton to canton in Switzerland within a year of obtaining his first position. Eventually he learned the trade of stonemason, which he alternated with that of errand-boy when the weather put a stop to building. By hook or by crook he managed to scrape together enough cash to attend lectures at the universities of Geneva and Zurich. During this period the future dictator of Italy saw life; he visited Germany and France; he was turned out of one Swiss canton after another on account of his socialist views and vagabond habits. His boon companions were the Russian exiles; he thought himself lucky when he had enough money to find food and shelter.

Finally the Swiss Government expelled him from the country. Before long his name begins to assume a certain importance in the Italian Socialist Party. He is secretary of the local Socialist group at Forli, a small town in his native Romagna, and at the same time editor of a local weekly, *The Class War*, which soon comes to the notice not only of the Socialists but also of the police. The new editor is strong; he is individual; he is an incorrigible opportunist (this side of his character is tactfully glossed over by the biographer); and he has that perfect genius for publicity which up to the present day has stood him in good stead. Italy becomes too warm for him. So for a short time we find him editing a Socialist paper in Trent.

The Austrians, too, deported him. In 1910 the Italian Socialist Party called him to the editorship of the Milan *Avanti!*. Mussolini was a success as a journalist; he worked hard and wrote with force and conviction. The circulation of the *Avanti!* was quadrupled, and in 1914 its editor was perhaps the strongest figure in Italian Socialism. Some years later Trotzky said to an Italian Socialist delegation: "You have lost your trump card. The only man who could have carried through a revolution was Mussolini."

Probably the secret of Mussolini's lapse from socialism lies in his distrust of internationalism. He is first and foremost an Italian. Before 1915 he toyed with internationalism. With the declaration of war he declared for neutrality. Soon, however, intervention appealed to him as the surest path toward Italian aggrandizement. He founded the *Popolo d'Italia* to fight for it. The Socialists accused him of taking French gold; they expelled him from the party; they spat on him and called him traitor. He has never forgiven them. The rest of the story is well known. He was badly wounded and returned to convalesce at his desk in Milan, where he remained until the march on Rome.

The present narrative stops short with Mussolini's assumption of office. We miss the enthralling story of Mussolini the dictator; the book is interesting only in that it gives his background. As a critical historical study its value is nil; there is too much of the press-agent about it. No one is too great to be compared with the hero—St. Francis, Cromwell, Savonarola, Napoleon, Lenin. But the book is a marvel of tact. Anything unpleasant is left out. We should have been interested, for instance, in the inside story of the Matteotti murder or even in the facts about Mussolini's marriage and the legitimization of his children.

MARTYN HEMPHILL

On the Contemporary Novel

The English Novel of Today. By Gerald Gould. The Dial Press. $2.

The Modern Novel. By Elizabeth A. Drew. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

MR. GOULD surveys the contemporary English novel with a somewhat jaundiced eye. Either inclination or duty has led him to read an enormous mass of contemporary books, and he remembers a surprising number of those which seem to have little claim to remembrance; but with the most striking tendencies of contemporary fiction he has little sympathy. He speaks of "the splendors of the Victorian age which our young men deride but do not rival"; of "that abundant cleverness of the moment which is off upon the wrong tack"; and he reaches the somewhat summary conclusion that the inferiority of the new "is not the mere consequence of poorer gifts in the individual writer" but of "something stamped deep in what the individual writer is attempting, in the very nature of his artistic purpose." He is, in a word, very dogmatically sure that he knows what constitutes "a novel" and his stock in trade is the question "It's very pretty (or clever or subtle or passionate), but is it art?"

Now this, I submit, is the very worst of all possible ways to approach a consideration of the novel, for the most striking thing about the history of that very rich form is its persistent refusal to confine itself within the limits of any definition formulated upon the basis of past example. I am perfectly sure that had the criticism of prose fiction been from the beginning as abundant as it is now the generation raised upon Defoe would have objected to Richardson and the generation raised upon Scott would have objected to George Eliot upon exactly the same grounds that Mr. Gould objects to James Joyce or D. H. Lawrence. "This," they would have said, "is striking enough, but it isn't the novel as Defoe or as Richardson or as Scott wrote it."

Time after time also Mr. Gould falls back upon some variant of the assertion that "life is not like this"; and in doing so he begs the whole question, first, because neither Mr. Gould nor Mr. Joyce knows what life is like as distinguished from what it looks like to them, and, second, because the novel never has been more than a record of things as, to this interesting mind or that, they seemed to be. If, as Mr. Gould seems to admit, Joyce, Lawrence, May Sinclair, *et al.* possess the most original minds to be found in our generation then it is with them that the critic of the novel must chiefly deal, and the futile question "Is life like this?" is swept aside by the significant fact that at least to many of the most interesting minds of our generation it seems thus to be.

I do not of course mean that Mr. Gould is bound to admire these people or that there is any necessity for him to conclude that their works constitute an achievement comparable to that of the Victorian masters, but I do mean that as a critic of the contemporary novel his chief business is to deal with them and not, as he seems to assume, to dismiss them briefly in order to indulge in discussions of quite unimportant people of whom it can only be said that if they are not very distinguished it does happen that their aims and opinions are not as irritating to Mr. Gould as those of their more gifted contemporaries. A book in which Joyce and Lawrence and Huxley were anatomized and damned might be interesting indeed, but one in which they are briefly ruled out, in which for example Huxley is given three mostly contemptuous pages and a Miss Leonora Eyles is given four pages of praise, is at best a little silly. "The English Novel of Today" bristles with the names of people not worth discussing; it is only for pigmies that the author has any really hearty praise. Our giants may be evil and they may be only relatively gigantic, but it is pretty well agreed who they are.

Miss Drew is an English lady lecturer who has been addressing women's clubs in America. She devotes herself largely to the major figures and it is her aim to prevent the dovecotes from being too much fluttered by an unreasonable fear of genius. She leads both Lawrence, whom she doesn't like, and Conrad, whom she does, in by the hand and shows that neither will bite; she explains the purpose of Huxley; and she points out that both psychoanalysis and best sellers "illustrate how dull life becomes if you narrow it to nothing but sex." She is suave, she is persuasive, and she takes infinite pains to make the significance of everything comprehensible to the meanest intelligence. One merely wonders if it is worth while to do so.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Philosophic Realism

The Ways of Knowing. By William Pepperell Montague. The Macmillan Company. $5.

DURING the past three years three important works of philosophy have appeared from American pens: "Skepticism and Animal Faith," by George Santayana; "Experience and Nature," by John Dewey, and this book by Mr. Montague. All three are from the realistic camp; philosophic idealism would seem to be, outside of Italy, if not dead, at least quiescent. The present volume labors to establish both a realistic logic and a realistic epistemology.

Logic, for Mr. Montague, is not, as for so many, the art of reasoning correctly from incorrect premises—in the sense, for example, in which the French are often called logical thinkers, and in the sense which has naturally discredited logic in the eyes of the practical-minded. The selection of premises, so far from being irrelevant to logic, is, in Mr. Montague's view, its main business. Logic is not a game with certain formal rules but a serious search for final principles of truth which when attained are found to be not mere "laws of thought" but ultimate laws of being. Five main methods of search have actually been employed by humanity according as knowledge has been supposed to rest primarily upon testimony (authoritarianism), intuition (mysticism), reason (rationalism), the evidence of the senses (empiricism), or the successful outcome of experimental action (pragmatism). Weight of testimony, Mr. Montague admits, can be partially determined by prestige, numbers, and age, but in the last analysis authoritarianism is dependent on other methods, since the final word of authority could not itself have been obtained from authority but must rest upon some form of direct experience.

Of the latter, mystical intuition can be fairly adequately explained as the "congruity of a proposition with a subconscious system of tendencies" derived from racial instincts and individual memories, although the possibility of its revealing supernatural or cosmic influence cannot be absolutely denied. "Intuition is the function that originates new hypotheses but seldom proves them, reason is the function that proves but seldom originates them." Mysticism may be of a deplorable negative type characterized by pessimism, asceticism, and occultism—and here Mr. Montague dismisses the bulk of Hindu philosophy somewhat too cavalierly—or of an admirable positive type which leads to the emotional enhancement of life. It is from the combination of rationalism and empiricism, however, that the author expects the real fruitage of knowledge. His account of the origin and status of universal concepts and his reduction of all judgments to propositions of identity are pieces of brilliant philosophic reasoning in which, as against idealists, pragmatists, and logisticians, he succeeds in showing that the types of relation treated by modern science can all be brought under the principles of the old Aristotelian logic. The estimate of pragmatism is a model of judicious criticism; full recognition is given to the Deweyan form with its emphasis upon future results, while the shoddiness and inconsistency of the Schillerian kind of pragmatism are mercilessly pointed out. In addition to the five positive methods of obtaining knowledge there is the ever-present need for the critical and negative method of skepticism, to which Mr. Montague devotes an able chapter.

The discussion of the epistemological problem, which is taken up in the second part of the book, is somewhat less satisfactory. Mr. Montague offers an eclectic combination of elements from idealism, new realism, and critical realism, but the resultant compromise remains nearer to new realism than to either of the others and is open to many of the objections which have been urged against the neo-realistic position. His chief argument for presentative as against representative knowledge is that perceptual space and time are qualitatively identical with conceptual space and time, but that this is not necessarily true is witnessed, among others, by Riemann's or Lobatschevsky's conceptions of space, Einstein's conception of time, or Alexander's conception of space-time. A supplementary dialogue, which presents the author as Hylonous easily outarguing certain men of straw who maintain the views of Bradley, Santayana, and others, is interesting but advances no ideas not set forth in the earlier portion of the volume. Nevertheless, in the second as well as the first part, Mr. Montague's book is not merely a work on philosophy but a work of philosophy and one which cannot safely be overlooked by any student of the subject.

ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES

Influencing Human Behavior

Influencing Human Behavior. By H. A. Overstreet. The Peoples Institute Publishing Company. $3.

Man the Puppet. By Abram Lipsky. Frank-Maurice, Inc. $2.50.

SOMEONE has said that "suggestion and imitation are the two legs upon which mankind stands." No doubt this dictum was never accepted literally; but it gave concrete expression to a process of education which became a fundamental of good teaching. Research in the field of social psychology has tended latterly to place increasing emphasis on "suggestion" and "imitation" as powerful forces making for sociality. When one considers that human beings are born with but an imperfect technique for acquiring knowledge and that their dependence on others seems ordained from infancy, it is but natural that society should assume the burden of education; and since a measure of uniformity is a prerequisite to social solidarity, society knows no better way to encompass this end than through the control of instinctive trends. Many psychologists attempt to lay down the line along which this indirect modification of behavior might proceed. Others, acutely conscious of the inchoate nature of human conduct and of the ruthlessness displayed by those who control it, see in the technique of influencing behavior an instrument for enslavement. Mr. Overstreet's book is a contribution to the art of making men "skilled artists in the enterprise of life." Mr. Lipsky's book sharply arraigns the art which mankind has employed so coercively.

Mr. Overstreet conducts the reader into the recesses of the mind and invites him to view the operation of the major drives actuating conduct. His book is a brilliant exposition of behavioristic psychology written for the intelligent lay reader who prefers his science in compact form and who is tolerant of Procrustean logic so long as the fundamental conclusions are inherently sound and have something of the mnemonic appeal of a slogan. It elaborately describes the technique of controlling and modifying conduct, in ourselves and in others, in the interests of the self-regarding instinct. Yet self-aggrandizement is not the goal. That knowledge may be used for selfish purposes is frankly conceded; man will continue to exploit his fellows. But this danger may be in part averted when men, with the weapons fashioned by psychology, learn to withstand the wiles of charlatans and demagogues. "Influencing Human Behavior" may place us at the mercy of the clever salesman, but it will also increase our sales resistance.

Mr. Lipsky inclines to the view that the common man is fated to play the part of a puppet. He sees him held fast in the meshes of propaganda. The school, the pulpit, the newspaper, the market-operator, and the advertising man are banded together to keep him in subjection through the exercise of the nefarious art of controlling men. The facts, marshaled with great journalistic skill, are impressive. But Mr. Lipsky is not so happy in his conclusions. Man is something of a puppet—an indolent creature forever seeking the line of least resistance. In this he is unchangeable. This puppet has strings—instincts, aptitudes, attitudes, and propensities. Somebody has to pull them to make him dance. The author admits that man is subject to control because he "has a psychological nature that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reacts in specific ways whenever objects or ideas are brought to his attention. To get men to act in a desired way the manipulator touches off the appropriate mechanism." That society, responsive to its baser instincts, makes him dance to a sorry tune "Man the Puppet" amply proves. But that proof belongs to the realm of sociology and economics rather than to that of psychology. Man is not a puppet solely because society wills it; it is rather because the role is to his liking. And man the puppet is not the whole of man. Man in the past has been hampered by a hit-or-miss technique of self-expression. Both of these books are steps in the direction of self-enlightenment; one points out, none too kindly, the many pitfalls into which the unwary are forever stumbling, and the other provides ready means whereby they may extricate themselves.

ALBERT J. LEVINE

Books in Brief

The Genesis of the Constitution of the United States of America. By Breckinridge Long. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

A chronicle of the colonial instruments of government, the creep-mouse crawl-mouse steps toward union, and the "perpetual Union" under the Articles of Confederation as predecessors of various provisions in the Constitution, with the text of the Constitution annotated by references to the appropriate twigs and branches of the family tree pictured in the preceding chronicle. Interesting and useful and free from the foolishness characteristic of most writings on the Constitution by men who have held public office.

Creative Oxford: Its Influence in Victorian Literature. By William S. Knickerbocker. Syracuse University Press. $3.50.

A useful and comprehensive account of the aesthetic and intellectual influence of Oxford University in the nineteenth century; unfortunately without sufficient critical interpretation or feeling for the significant.

Carlyle on Cromwell and Others (1837-1848). By David Alec Wilson. E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.

The third volume of Mr. Wilson's work presents Carlyle at the height of his powers and at the center of what Thackeray called "the best company in England." But the biographer's acquaintance with the social and literary history of the time is not wide and deep enough to permit the best use of his magnificent materials, and the reader is left with an amorphous mass of insufficiently interpreted facts from which to create his own values.

The Nobel Prize Winners in Literature. By Annie Russell Marble. D. Appleton and Company. $3.

Biographies and bibliographies of the twenty-four authors who have won the Nobel prize to date. A preliminary chapter on the conditions of the donor's will adds to the usefulness of a needed reference book.

Russia. By Valentine O'Hara and N. Makeef. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

Norway. By G. Gathorne Hardy. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

These two volumes, without being up to the level of Mr. Gooch's volume in the same series on Germany, are both of them useful and competent performances. Mr. Gathorne Hardy does his best with not very inspiriting material; Norway, in fact, is not big enough as a force in the modern world for a canvas of his size, and it would have been better if, in the space at his disposal, he had been asked to treat of Scandinavia as a whole. The authors of the volume on Russia have had an exceptionally difficult task and they come out of it with credit. They are opposed to the Bolsheviks, but they realize that the old order is irretrievably gone. They look upon the Soviet government simply as one form of autocratic government which they believe will one day be transformed, though through Russian agency alone, into a more democratic state. They tend, one may believe, to exaggerate the "accidental" nature of the Bolshevik seizure of power; and they do not sufficiently emphasize the dishonesty of the Russian policy of the Allies after 1917. But, granted their standpoint, they have written an illuminating book, far superior to most of the commentaries which seek to explain the outstanding event of the modern world.

Educational Frontiers. By Scott Nearing. Thomas Seltzer. $1.50.

In this book Mr. Nearing pays a debt to his teacher, Simon Nelson Patten, late professor of economics in the University of Pennsylvania. He pays it partly by testifying to Patten's greatness; but partly also by going on to consider the meaning of education and especially the intent and accomplishment of American teaching as measured by Patten's achievement. He is not too hopeful of our system. Too many of our teachers, he thinks, are simply making their living in an easy way—either that or vicariously enjoying the maternal relations with children which they somehow fail to achieve in reality. The kind of teacher Patten was, who strives strenuously not to choke developing minds with material but to open them to enlightenment, is rare and becoming rarer. For, Mr. Nearing feels, there are special reasons why enlightenment is not wanted, the chief one being that it is dangerous to the present order and to its privileged individuals. The defenders of old faiths have come to see that men like Patten—enlighteners rather than dogmatists—are the real cause of intellectual revolt, and they are determined to kill the root of the tree rather than cut off any more branches. Possibly Mr. Nearing exaggerates the prevalence and the immediacy of the pressure upon most teachers, but he is right to address a book like this to members of the profession. Most teachers can find something to envy in his record; and they owe his thoughtful and experienced study of educational values careful consideration.

Music

"The Immortal Hour"

MANY who have witnessed the lamentable failure of the Opera Players in their first venture, "The Immortal Hour," have been wondering openly how this work could have had so long a run in London. To understand this one must have seen the London production; for one must admit with those thus bewildered that the musical setting of "The Immortal Hour," which the English composer Rutland Boughton has put to Fiona Macleod's play and poems of that name, is of little value. A tenuous imitation of Wagner, with a thin coating of Celtic "atmosphere," its only outstanding features are some effective choruses and a pretty theme that runs through these until it reaches its climax in a tenor solo in the last act. The text itself is built around a garbled version of the old Gaelic legend of Etain, which comes from the "Book of the Tain." This version, according to James Stephens, Sharp (Fiona Macleod) probably got from his friend Yeats. In it, as in most of these legends from the Tain, one must pass constantly to and fro between the world of man and the half world of gods and shees—those fairies so close to the hearts of the Celts. It is a difficult transition to make, and yet upon it hangs the idea of "The Immortal Hour." And this is what the company of the Birmingham Repertory Theater, which gave it in London, accomplished with such marked success. They not only caught this elusive substance but projected it so exquisitely in voice and gesture, in the choruses and even in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

settings, that the spectator also felt himself part of this world of haunting, beautiful shadows headed by the Etain of Gwenn Ffrangçon-Davies. It is not surprising, therefore, that in London, where every other person one meets is a mystic, people should have gone to see the performance again and again, some even going so far as to declare that they beheld an angel hovering over the hall. It must be admitted again that there was no danger of any such illusion or delusion here. Intrusted to the rankest of amateur singers, and to a conductor who gave it a frankly Italian reading, whatever mysticism lay in score and text was lost equally in the obscure intentions of the actors and the loud, unmistakable ones of the conductor.

The result was a failure that may be considered little short of disastrous—not because of the loss in the work itself but because of the damage it has done the cause for which it stood. The Opera Players had led one to believe from their announcements that at last we were to have one of those small opera houses in which Europe abounds, where opera for small stage would be given artistically, and where young singers with Metropolitan aspirations could find a stepping-stone from the studio to the larger and more important stage. The time was undoubtedly ripe for just such a venture, and everything seemed to be in its favor; sufficient backing had been raised to build a most perfect Little Theater on Grove Street to house the project; the interest and sympathy of press and public alike had been enlisted; and, most important of all, there was a pressing need of just such an undertaking. And yet these advantages were deliberately thrown away by presenting a company that turned out to be students with no outstanding talent to recommend them, and by presenting them, moreover, in a work so far beyond their limited abilities that it was doomed even before the curtain rose.

As it is, opera here still remains where it was before—in much the same state, in fact, that the drama was in before the Little Theater movement was started. Convention and tradition have stifled its growth until today one finds much more artistic vitality and initiative in a purely commercial enterprise like "The Song of the Flame," with its magnificent choral effects, its thrilling stage pictures, and its pretty music which, if reminiscent, is at least not stale to boredom. In the meantime the Little Opera movement is in the air, quivering with all its potentialities of delightful old works and vital new ones that have been especially written for small stage. All it needs, indeed, to catch fire and spread is an intelligent and understanding beginning. Hence one's more than passing regret at the Grove Street Theater's failure.

HENRIETTA STRAUS

Drama

Raquel Meller

CURRENT discussion of Señorita Raquel Meller (Empire Theater) seems to concern itself chiefly with the question whether or not she is worth the $11 per seat which is demanded by her management, and that is a question which the professional critic of the stage—thanks to his limited experience in buying tickets—is very poorly qualified to answer. To me it seems a question related more intimately to the financial condition of each member of her potential audience than to the merits and limitations of her art; so to the makers of budgets I shall leave it, contenting myself with some remarks upon her aims and her methods.

She is not, in the first place, an impersonator in the ordinary sense. From Ruth Draper and, to a less extent, from Yvonne George she differs in that she does not attempt, as they do, to enact her songs or to do anything which offers an analogy with the false art of the elocutionist. She is content instead to sing them entirely as songs and to illuminate their meaning from time to time with a gesture or an expression which is not usually either sustained enough or complete enough to constitute an impersonation but which remains instead an extraordinarily vivid suggestion. To those who expect a showy virtuosity or any of the more obvious tricks of the mimic she will seem unspectacular almost to the extent of invisibility; understatement is, indeed, the keynote of her entire method. She does not enter in a blaze of glory and she makes no effort to take her audience by storm; her first song is the slightest of her repertory and her trick is to demand of her audience its alertest attention and most delicate sensibility. To those, however, who give both she will reveal glimpses of an art which, slight though it may be, is at least perfect in its kind.

Consider for example a typical song, "The Jailer's Daughter," a preposterous ballad about a young girl who has never been in love before but who, being taken by the eyes of a young convict, helps him to escape because "the only prison she wishes for him is in her heart." Raquel enters in the dress of a jailer's daughter as it is conceived by Jeanne Lanvin. She carries a coil of rope which she tosses carelessly into the wings, she advances to the front of the stage, and she sings her song in a directly simple manner. Then, almost before one is aware of what has happened, there is a moment of extraordinarily vivid pantomime. She motions to the convict that his moment has come, she follows with her eyes his imaginary figure as it crosses the stage, and she waves him a farewell. In all it has taken not more than fifteen seconds; one hardly knows what has happened; but in a lightning flash a scene has been evoked by suggestion alone which has an almost hallucinatory vividness and Raquel is gone.

When one has described this little miracle and when one has added that she is possessed of a magnetic personality and of a poise that is marvelous to contemplate one has said about all there is to say. Her range is extraordinarily limited and her songs are almost without exception vulgar—written in the same rather banal musical idiom and for the most part either abjectly sentimental or tawdrily melodramatic. Over the limitations of her material she triumphs, it is true, to a considerable extent by illuminating only an occasional moment instead of underscoring each vulgarity after the usual manner of the elocutionist or the impersonator, and her own appeals to the imagination are infinitely subtler than any employed by those who furnished her words and her music. Yet at best she can hardly make of them more than something exquisitely meretricious. Hers is an art which deliberately restricts itself to the trivial, which is, in a word, always dextrous rather than important, and which seems all the more marvelous because it is art only in the very narrowest sense of the word. Still there is no one else who can do quite so well just the thing which she does. Is it worth $11? That, as I said, depends upon one's budget. Raquel is a luxury like *marrons glacés* or a bit of French porcelain. She is not, as the Russians were, a necessity.

"Pomeroy's Past" (Longacre Theater) is a funny bit of fluff by Clare Kummer which deserves more praise than I have space to give it. As in her previous plays Miss Kummer has taken a situation which might have served as the basis of a soddenly boisterous farce and has transformed it by means of her gift for subtly humorous characterization and delicately absurd dialogue into a well-bred extravaganza with a flavor all its own. It is fantastically incredible and as lacking in substance as an iridescent bubble, but it has the grace, the charm and the individuality which are so conspicuously lacking in forty-nine out of fifty of the comedies offered as part of the staple fare in our theaters. Laura Hope Crews is perfectly cast and Ernest Truex is also admirable.

At the Bayes Theater is being revived "The Bells," another favorite of our grandfathers' day to keep company with "The Two Orphans." It shows its age but it has its moments of melodramatic effectiveness.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To know these men is a liberal education

How YOU can know them is told in the most famous Free Booklet in the world. Your copy is waiting for you to mail the coupon below.

A FEW years ago Dr. Eliot of Harvard undertook to gather into one handy library the greatest thinkers of history. His choice has been accepted as supremely authoritative, since Dr. Eliot is himself America's greatest scholar. Has he since changed his mind? No.

Recently Dr. Eliot was asked to name the world's ten greatest educators. His list, shown opposite, was sensational. But every one of the men he named is represented in

DR. ELIOT'S FIVE-FOOT SHELF OF BOOKS

Read the column on the left. Says a famous authority: "To know these, humanity's aristocracy, is a liberal education." You, too, can know these men. By coming into contact with their brilliant, fascinating minds, *you* can gain the knowledge of life, the cultivated viewpoint, that are the tools of success in modern life.

The free book tells all about it—how Dr. Eliot, from his life-time of reading, study and teaching, chose the 418 great masterpieces that contain what he calls "the essentials of a liberal education," and how he has so arranged these "Harvard Classics" that even 15 minutes a day are enough.

"For me," wrote one man who had sent in the coupon, "your free book meant a big step forward and it showed me besides the way to a vast new world of pleasure."

What's a home without books? The famous Collier plan of permitting you to pay for good books while you read and enjoy them brings the finest reading within reach of all.

Since 1875 COLLIER Good Books

The Ten Great Educators of All Time

ARISTOTLE—Born B. C. 384. The Greek philosopher in Athens, who wrote on logic, rhetoric, natural science, ethics and politics. His philosophy is made clear to you by many immortal authors in the Five-Foot Shelf.

GALEN—Living in the second century, A. D., he was the first physician who felt the pulse of his patients. Some of his remedies are used to this day. Read about him in the Five-Foot Shelf.

DA VINCI—Born 1452. The Italian artist whose famous painting of "The Last Supper" is known throughout the world. He was also an engineer, and his sculpture is of the highest excellence. Interesting details of his life and work are in the Five-Foot Shelf.

SHAKESPEARE — This sixteenth century literary figure needs no introduction. Besides many of his immortal plays and poems, you will find interesting commentaries on the great poet by many authorities in the Five-Foot Shelf.

MILTON—The seventeenth century poet, who was Cromwell's secretary, a champion of a free press and of religious liberty, and the writer of "Paradise Lost," as well as many masterpieces of noble verse. His finest writings have been selected for you by Dr. Eliot.

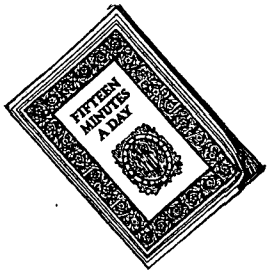
BACON—Lord Chancellor, philosopher, master of worldly wisdom. He presented to the world, in the Elizabethan Era, a judgment of phenomena which was completely scientific in our own modern sense of the word. Read Bacon's writings in the Five-Foot Shelf.

LOCKE—The philosopher—born 1632, was one who, like Dr. Eliot himself, sought, in a contentious age, to apply to all the problems of life a clear light of reason. His great "Thoughts Concerning Education" is included in the Five-Foot Shelf.

NEWTON—Born 1642. Newton formulated the laws of motion under gravity, separated the colors in light by means of the prism, and made other far-reaching contributions to science. He tells about his discoveries in the Five-Foot Shelf.

KANT—Born in East Prussia, 1724. He analyzed with abstruse insight the mysteries of mental perception. His "Fundamental Principles of Morals" is in the Five-Foot Shelf.

EMERSON—Born in 1803. For seventy years he was the apostle of liberalism in religion, philosophy and statesmanship. He lectured, preached, wrote, always profoundly yet always with a popular appeal. Many poems, essays and some of his finest public utterances are available to you in the Five-Foot Shelf.



Mail the coupon for the interesting FREE book now.

P. F. COLLIER & SON COMPANY
250 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

By mail, free, send me the guide book to the most famous books in the world, describing Dr. Eliot's Five-Foot Shelf of Books (The Harvard Classics) and containing the plan of reading recommended by Dr. Eliot of Harvard. Also, please advise how I may secure the books by small monthly payments.

Name Mr. / Mrs. / Miss .....

4329 HCR-L

Address .....

The publishers cannot undertake to send the booklet free to children.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

An American Missionary Protest

THE inclosed statement was issued by a group of American missionaries in Peking immediately after the ultimatum to China had been issued by the Powers. Among the men and women signing the statement were J. Leighton Stuart, president of Yenching University, Dwight Edwards and W. B. Pettus of the Y. M. C. A., W. H. Gleysteen of the Presbyterian Mission, Lucius Porter of the American Board Mission, Dr. Louise Morrow of the Y. W. C. A., and George Davis of the Methodist Mission.

The action of the representatives of the Protocol Powers, including the United States, in delivering an ultimatum to the Chinese Government to the effect that unless "free and safe navigation of the channel between Tientsin and the sea" is reestablished by noon of March 18, a foreign armed force would be employed to secure this result, seems to us to raise grave issues that involve not only questions of international fair dealing but also of direct American interests in China. As American citizens, therefore, we make the following statement of our views:

1. The Boxer Protocol provision relative to keeping communications open with the sea, in so far as it still can be considered a practicable measure, should be applicable if at all only when the situation is such that there is definite or clearly apparent prospective danger of armed Chinese attack on foreigners. This situation does not at present exist.

2. The use of foreign armed force in the present circumstances, and along the lines indicated as under consideration by the American Government in joining with the other Protocol Powers in sending the ultimatum would be a direct setting aside of the spirit of friendly cooperation with the Chinese people in the effort to work out their problems. As such it would be a clear departure from the policy in relation to China which the American Government with the strong and united support of the American people has pursued since relations between China and the United States were first established.

3. The inevitable consequence of the use of foreign armed force in the circumstances contemplated will be a marked increase of such anti-foreign feeling as exists in China today which in turn will definitely aggravate Chinese foreign relations. American participation in such armed intervention thus would work grave harm to Chinese-American friendship. At the same time it would, we believe, seriously injure the American interests in China with which we are directly concerned and American interests in general.

We would submit the above points to the American authorities for their most serious consideration. We would ask, too, that steps should be taken to prevent American participation in any foreign military or naval action which may be taken as a result of the Protocol Powers' note of March 16, 1926, to the Chinese Government.

The Student Meeting

The following description of the events immediately preceding the massacre of the students described in Mr. Gannett's article on page 496, is taken from the Peking *Leader* of March 19.

The mass meeting, which preceded the massacre in front of the Provisional Government, was held [in Peking] in front of the Tien An Men. Hsu Chien presided over the gathering at which it is reported the Peking Students Union, the General Labor Union, the Kuomintang, the Dare-to-Die Corps, and different schools were represented. . . .

Over six thousand students, workmen, and residents of the capital attended the meeting. . . . A platform was specially erected for the occasion, on which stood representatives of various popular organizations in Peking. There was virtually a sea of flags and banners, bearing such inscriptions as "Overthrow the Protocol Powers," "Expel the Ministers of Protocol Powers," etc.

Mr. Hsu Chien, president of the Sino-Russian University, presided in his capacity as chairman of the Canton Diplomatic Delegation. Mr. Hsu said that the united front of the imperialist Powers against China had been completed with the delivery of the recent ultimatum and that it was time that the masses rise.

Mr. Hsu was followed by Mr. Ku Meng-yu, former dean of the Peking National University. Mr. Ku said that all internal traitors should be treated in the same way as the imperialists are treated. Mr. Wang Chang-kuo, representative of the Canton Nationalist Government, read the draft of an ultimatum to the ministers of the Signatory Powers to be sent in the name of the residents of Peking. The gist of the note, which was adopted by the meeting by acclamation, is that if the Protocol Powers will not withdraw their ultimatum, they should pack up and return home.

A representative of Premier Chia was present on the platform and expressed the apology of his chief for the incident in the Cabinet Office Wednesday afternoon, which resulted in the injuring of several students when they clashed with the guards on duty. The meeting closed with the passing of a series of resolutions after which the demonstrators paraded the principal streets of the East city and went to the Cabinet Office to petition the Government to take a firm stand in regard to the ultimatum of the Protocol Powers.

The general sentiments blazoned on the banners carried in Wednesday's and Thursday's demonstration as well as the resolutions passed at the meeting of students are translated as follows:

1. A circular telegram should be issued to the people all over the country opposing the ultimatum of the eight countries.
2. A circular telegram should be addressed to all the oppressed peoples in the world to ask that they oppose the eight countries sending an expedition to China.
3. The eight ministers signing the ultimatum should be sent out of Peking.
4. The Peking Government should be urged to send a note to the eight countries solemnly and seriously rebutting the ultimatum.
5. The Protocol of 1901 should be proclaimed null and void.
6. The demands to be made upon the eight countries:

(a) The Protocol of 1901 and all other unequal treaties should be made null and void.

(b) The foreign warships and foreign troops at Peking and Tientsin and at all other ports should be withdrawn immediately.

(c) The instigator of the Taku incident should be punished.

(d) Compensation and indemnity should be paid to the dead and wounded of the Kuominchun in the Taku affair.

(e) A monument should be erected for the dead officers and soldiers.

(f) On the day of their burial the different official institutions under the eight countries in China should hoist their national flags at half mast.

(g) An apology should be offered to the Chinese Government by the eight countries for the unfortunate event.

7. Those bodyguards who wounded representatives of the different public bodies on Wednesday should be severely punished.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

8. A telegram should be sent to the Kuominchun encouraging them to fight anti-imperialism.

It is reliably stated that Hsu Chien has submitted a petition to the Government urging five things:

1. The dismissal of the bodyguards of the Provisional Government and substitution of a new guard;
2. The request that Marshal Tuan resign;
3. Organization of a people's government;
4. A union with Germany, Russia, Austria, and other countries to defeat British and Japanese imperialism;
5. The removal of the ministers of the eight Protocol Powers.

In some circles it is reported that the Cabinet yesterday morning discussed this decided radical proposal, but no mention was made thereof in the public statement of the Chief Secretary.

A translation of one of the handbills circulated at the mass meeting follows:

TO ALL OUR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

Two days ago Japan attacked Taku. Yesterday England, Japan, America, and France expressed the imperialistic idea, giving China forty-four hours to destroy the Taku fort. China is not a subject nation. Chinese are not the slaves of foreigners.

Fellow-countrymen, arise, arise, arise! Break down imperialism! Boycott England, Japan, America, and French ideas and goods, and break off relations with these people!

[Unsigned]

Another handbill, signed by the Peking branch of the Kuomintang, concluded:

Wipe out the Protocol of 1901!

Oppose the unreasonable and oppressive ultimatum!

Oppose Tuan Chi-jui's Government and his alliance with the imperialistic Powers!

Wipe out the unequal treaties!

Drive out the foreign soldiers and warships!

Expel from our borders the ministers who issued the ultimatum!

Stop Japan's aid to the Mukden troops!

Strengthen Taku as one of the country's defenses!

Oppose British and Japanese imperialistic plans!

The Kuominchun (People's Army) should oppose the unequal treaties, and all the people of the country should stand up against the allied forces of the eight protocol Powers.

Ten thousand years of life to the Kuominchun, and ten thousand years to China's Kuomintang!

Matteotti's Widow Speaks

THE following letter, written by the widow of Matteotti to Danza, the president of the court which tried the murderers of the Socialist Deputy, was printed in various German newspapers. The text given below was taken from the *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* of March 22, compared with and emended according to the versions in the *Berliner Tageblatt* and *Vorwärts:*

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

The murder of Matteotti, a tragedy not only for me and my children, but also for all civilized and freedom-loving Italy, permitted me to hope that justice would not be called for in vain. This was the sole comfort in my sorrow and induced me to join the trial as civil accuser.

But in the process of law, and thanks to the newly proclaimed amnesty, the actual facts of the case have been gradually obscured. What remains today is but the shadow of the fact.

GOOD HEALTH

is of interest to every living soul. Here is a new book that shows why our present system of medical and surgical service does not have a chance to do what it might for the human race. This is a subject that should be of intense interest to every American citizen.

BETTERMAN II *on the* BUSINESS *of* MEDICINE

by Charles Elton Blanchard, M.D.

An interesting analysis of medicine as a service, showing why it fails to do its best for all the race *because it is a business.* This is Dr. Blanchard's second "Betterman" book and it brings to you the experience and contact of thirty years in medicine. It is interesting as a study and as an autobiography; many incidents and stories being used to illustrate the thesis.

"Schools of Medicine," "Straws That Point," "Evidences of Medical Chaos," "Present Status of Medicine," "How Progress Is Made,"—these are some of the important analytical chapters.

The real purpose of the book is reached in "Medicine in a New Day," which paints a picture of a real medical service that will reach everyone, rich or poor, high or low. Several pages are devoted to "Now and Then" comparisons, the statements of which are surely hard to controvert. An appendix presents much more valuable material and data together with some biographical sketches of marked interest.

4 Reasons Why You Will Want This Book

1. **It will help you to select your physician intelligently.**
2. **It will prepare you to function successfully on health matters.**
3. **It will enhance your respect and good will for the real doctors in your midst.**
4. **It will aid you in side-stepping all pseudo-medicine.**

BETTERMAN II is bound in fine red Interlaken cloth, size 6x9,—250 pages. There is a frontispiece of "Dr. Amos Betterman," the character prototype about whose life and work the argument is built.

Price $3.00. Sent postpaid.

MEDICAL SUCCESS PRESS

36 North Phelps Street

Youngstown, Ohio

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I harbor no hatred nor do I cry for revenge. I ask only justice. Men have denied me justice; God and history will grant it to me. Therefore I wish to stay away from proceedings which in no wise concern me. My attorneys, who are at one with me in this matter, will clothe my decision in the proper legal form. I beg Your Excellency to spare me the agony of appearing before the court. My presence there would seem to me as an insult to the memory of Giacomo Matteotti, to whom life was something very serious.

From now on I live lonely and distracted for and in this memory, with the sole purpose of rearing my sons to proud and fearless men after the great example of their father.

Respectfully,

VELIA MATTEOTTI

Contributors to This Issue

HENDRIK W. VAN LOON is the author and illustrator of "The Story of Mankind," "Tolerance," etc.

LEWIS S. GANNETT, associate editor of *The Nation*, has been in China studying the background of the present ferment.

GEORGE W. NORRIS is one of the Senators who believes that an open vote on the confirmation of Thomas F. Woodlock to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission would have brought a different result.

CARL RAKOSI is one of the editors of the *Issue*, a new student magazine at the University of Wisconsin.

STUART CHASE is the author of "Waste." He is a special editorial writer on the staff of *The Nation*.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT was formerly instructor in history at the University of Chicago.

JAMES RORTY won *The Nation's* poetry prize in 1921.

ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES was formerly professor of philosophy at the University of Oregon.

MARTYN HEMPHILL is an Irish journalist who has been in Italy under Mussolini.

FOR PASSAIC STRIKERS

First appearance of

NEW SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA of NEW YORK

Conductor: Dr. Sigfrid Prager, with 75 men.

Soloists: Dorothy Adrian, soprano; Elsie Kirchgessner, pianist; Max Bloch, tenor.

CARNEGIE HALL,

SATURDAY, MAY 1, 2.30 p. m.

SPEAKERS:

NORMAN THOMAS, ELIZABETH CURLEY FLYNN, FRANK BELLANCA.

Chairman: ARTURO GIOVANNITTI.

Under auspices Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief, Il Nuovo Mondo and Italian Chamber of Labor.

Tickets at Rand School, Civic Club, Carnegie Hall. $2.50, $2.00, $1.50, $1.00, 75c.

Now Is The RIGHT Time

to decide where you will start building your home this Spring. Visit

MT. AIRY (Croton-on-Hudson)

A community of artists, writers, professional people—where ¼ or ½ acre plots cost less than the cramped 25x100 lots elsewhere. Wooded country, glorious views, only 32 miles from city; 100 trains daily; near shops and schools. Let us tell you more about this ideal community.

HARRY KELLY 70 Fifth Ave. New York Chelsea 0432

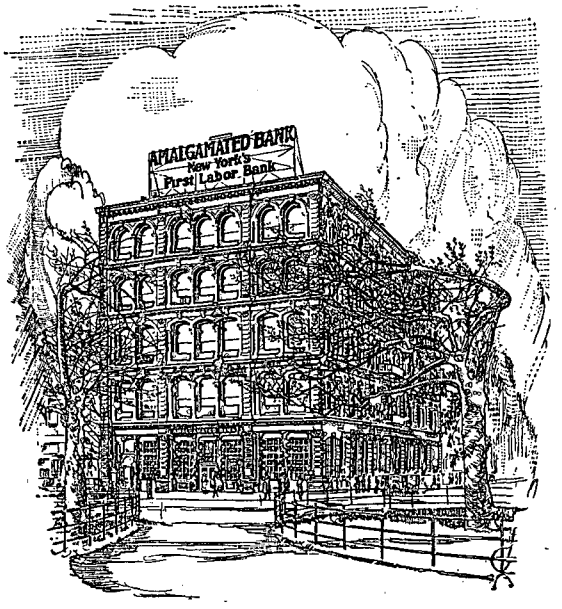
The RESOURCES

of the

AMALGAMATED BANK

are Steadily

CLIMBING



Since we left our old quarters and moved to the new, our ability to give increased service has increased our total resources

$1,370,000.00

These resources are now over

$7,600,000.00

The Amalgamated Bank has just begun to grow. If all of those who have expressed their interest in the success of Labor Banking will translate this interest into availing themselves of its services, its success will be one of the outstanding developments in the financial and industrial world.

Readers of *The Nation* are invited to use the Bank's Four per cent. Interest Department, its Checking Department, its Foreign Remittance Department, and to avail themselves of all of the Special Services the Amalgamated Bank offers.

THE TRAVEL DEPARTMENT

of the

BANK IS EQUIPPED TO ACCOMMODATE YOU WITH ALL FACILITIES: STEAMSHIP TICKETS, LETTERS OF CREDIT, TRAVELERS' CHECKS AND ANY OTHER SERVICE WHICH WILL ADD TO THE ENJOYMENT OF TRAVEL.

THE AMALGAMATED BANK

Member Federal Reserve System

11-15 Union Square, West, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED